

RESTORATION QUARTERLY

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN SCHOLARSHIP

Vol. 3, No. 4
Quarter, 1959

Published by *Restoration Quarterly*

Issued Quarterly

EDITOR

J. W. Roberts, Abilene Christian College
Box 173, Station ACC; Abilene, Texas

EDITORIAL BOARD

Batsell Barrett Baxter, David Lipscomb College, Nashville, Tennessee
William M. Green, University of California, Berkeley 4, California
Reuel Lemmons, Editor *Firm Foundation*, Box 77, Austin, Texas
Joe Sanders, David Lipscomb College, Nashville, Tennessee
J. D. Thomas, Abilene Christian College, Abilene, Texas
Jack P. Lewis, Harding College, School of Bible and Religion, Memphis, Tennessee

BUSINESS MANAGER: Pat Harrell, P. O. Box 431
Villanova, Pa.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Abe Malherbe, Box 144,
Lexington, Massachusetts

Contributions are invited. Manuscripts and communications for the *Quarterly* should be addressed to the editor. MSS should be typewritten, double-spaced, and proof-read before submitted. Notes and appropriate references may either be at the end of the articles or at the bottom of pages. Hebrew and Greek words should be transliterated. A biographical sketch should accompany each new contributor's work. No manuscripts will be returned, except when accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Books for review should be sent to *Restoration Quarterly*, P. O. Box 45, Natick, Massachusetts.

Subscriptions and business correspondence should be sent to the Business Manager, P. O. Box 431, Villanova, Pa.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Regular
One Year \$4.00

Students
One Year \$3.00

Single Copies \$1.25

CONTENTS

Special Issue on the Corinthian Epistles—The Editor	146
Corinth—The City—J. D. Thomas	147
Paul and Corinth—His Visits and Letters—Roy Bowen Ward....	158
The Church at Corinth Outside the New Testament—Everett Ferguson	169
Notes on Selected Passages in 1 Corinthians—Neil R. Lightfoot..	173
The Veils in 1 Cor. 11:2-16—J. W. Roberts	183
“That Which Is Perfect”—1 Cor. 13:10—R. L. Roberts, Jr.	199
Does 1 Corinthians 15:23, 24 Teach a Premillennial Reign of Christ on Earth?—Frank Pack	205
Baptized for the Dead—John P. Lewis	214
The Corinthian Contribution—Abraham J. Malherbe	221
<i>Restoration Quarterly</i> Index Volume 3, 1959— Callie Fay Milliken	234

Special Issue on the Corinthian Epistles

The Editor

The present number of the *Restoration Quarterly* brings to a close the third volume of the journal. Again we express our thanks to all who have helped to make it possible.

This issue also represents the third of our special issues in which all articles in the double-sized number deal with the same subject—this time on the Corinthian Epistles. We hope that it is a worthy successor to the previous special issues—on Baptism in 1957 and on The Church in 1958. We have been told often that these special issues alone are worth the subscription price.

The Corinthian Correspondence is certainly among the most interesting of all the New Covenant books. Dealing with doctrinal and practical applications of the every-day life of Christians in a pagan world, they present interesting and practical questions which cannot be avoided in our modern world.

Most of our contributors are well known to our readers. It may be well to state their present positions:

J. D. Thomas is Professor of Bible at Abilene Christian College.

Roy Bowen Ward is a graduate student in the Harvard Divinity School.

Everett Ferguson is the Dean of Northeastern Institute for Christian Education, Villanova, Pa.

Neil R. Lightfoot is Assistant Professor of Bible at Abilene Christian College.

J. W. Roberts is Professor of Bible at ACC.

R. L. Roberts Jr. is minister of the church of Christ at Alvord, Tex.

Frank Pack is Professor of Bible and Religious Education at ACC.

John P. Lewis is Associate Professor of Bible at ACC where he has taught courses in the Corinthian Epistles many years.

Abraham J. Malherbe has completed his residence work at Harvard and is preaching for the church of Christ in Lexington, Mass.

About our publishing schedule: Several have asked about our schedule of publication. It has not been understood generally that our first issue when the *Quarterly* was begun was published at the end of the quarter, Jan.-Mar. 1957. This means that each year the last quarter number has not been printed until the first part of the succeeding year. We have kept to our original schedule. This is however confusing to some of our subscribers and it is our intention to print five issues in the year 1960 and thus bring our offering for the year within the calendar year.

We solicit the continued cooperation of both subscribers and contributors.

Introduction

Corinth — the City

J. D. Thomas

The ancient city of Corinth was located at the narrow isthmus joining the Peloponnesus to the rest of Greece. The city was about two miles inland from the port of Lechaëum, directly south, and was not much farther west from Cenchreæ, the port in the Saronic Gulf. The city occupied the upper of three natural terraces that sloped away toward the sea, and was itself practically at the foot of towering Acrocorinth, a mountain rising fifteen hundred feet above the city. Actually, Acrocorinth was a part of the city's defenses, being within the walls, at least partly, but as to its advantages for defense, it is difficult to say in what serious way it could help. The outlines of the walls of the city have recently been found, and they total a length of about six miles, running generally both north and east from Acrocorinth to the terrace cliff, and so around.

The location of Corinth gave her control of the land-commerce between southwestern Greece and the rest of the country; and also control of sea traffic across the isthmus. It was only about 10 miles across from the Corinthian to the Saronic Gulf, whereas around the southern tip of Greece it was a 200 mile trip, and extremely dangerous. Small vessels were hauled bodily across the isthmus, while the cargoes of the larger ships were transferred into other ships in the opposite gulf. This was a great saving to the merchants and shippers, but also was the source of great revenues to the city. Nero started digging a canal across the isthmus in his day, but the job was not actually finished until 1893, by modern engineers.

The Doric Temple of Apollo was the only ancient ruin before excavations were begun and served as a landmark. The city is now only about one per cent excavated, though most of the important buildings have been located and at least partly excavated.

It is evident from pottery and other finds that the site of Corinth was occupied as early as 3,000 B.C., but a more detailed knowledge of her actual history dates only from the ninth century, B.C., when she was conquered by the Dorians. Pausanias said that she was first ruled by kings, though the first strong tradition is that the city was ruled by the Bacchiad family. In the eighth and seventh centuries, B.C., Corinth founded the colonies of Corcyra and Syracuse and had a powerful navy, a naval battle in 664 against the Corcyreans being recorded. Under Kypselos (627-629) and his son Periander (629-585) the city rose to prominence and prosperity, manufacturing pottery and the noted Corinthian Bronze and carrying on much commerce. Corinth had many ups and downs for the next few centuries, but in the main was prosperous. She was prominent in the

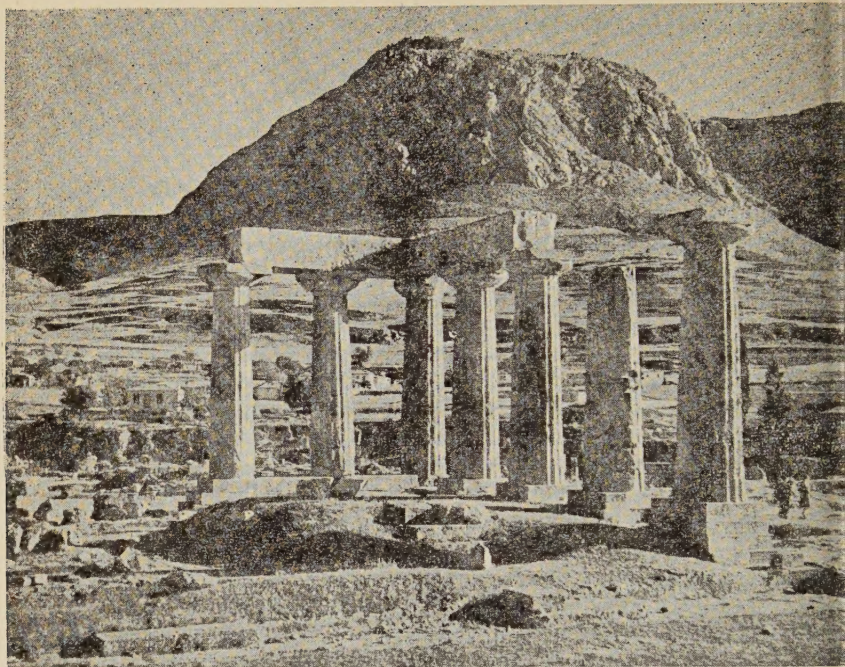


Fig. 1. ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF APOLLO (?), built about 550 B. C. with Acrocorinth the background.

Achaean League in the second century, B.C., and this, probably with her commercial prowess, made her the target of Rome's disfavor. In 146 B.C. L. Munnius, the Roman consul, took the city, slew the men, made slaves of the women and children, and burned the city and razed the ruins. The territory was divided and the site was left desolate for one hundred years, until in 44 B.C. it was refounded at the command of Julius Caesar, being populated largely with Roman freedmen and dispossessed Greeks, and with some Jews and other foreigners coming later. The city was rebuilt as a Roman city, and this fact helps much in establishing dates among the archeological remains, the Roman stratum being quite in evidence. Commerce again rose rapidly, and Augustus made Corinth the capital of Achaia and the seat of the Proconsul. There was an earthquake under Vespasian, but the city was further built and beautified under Hadrian, with baths and aqueducts, so that before 200 A.D. it was probably the finest and most modern city of Greece. It was sacked and burned by Alaric the Goth in 395, and this ended the pagan civilization, as it turned next to the early Christian norms. Its history since this time has been interspersed with wars and earthquakes. The Byzantines, Normans, Franks, Turks, and Venetians

have all held it. Since the earthquake of 1858 there has been a new Corinth, situated about three miles away on the coast. This means that the old Corinth is accessible for excavations.

There were some few excavations before 1896, but it was then that the American School of Classical Studies in Athens began in earnest, and in a scientific way, to explore these ruins. With the aid of Pausanias' description, archeologists have been able to find and explore the ruins of most of the prominent buildings of the ancient city.

We will consider the excavations in the order of their appearance to the visitor; so, as one enters the area of excavation at the main gate he finds himself at once upon the LECHAEUM ROAD, a thoroughfare for pedestrian traffic—paved with limestone slabs, uncovered in places and traced, for more than 300 yards north from the Agora, the central area of the excavations. This was perhaps the most prominent street of the ancient city. It had sidewalks on either side of the road proper, and gutters. Both east and western sides were lined with colonnades and shops. The road did not slope downward to the sea, but had steps at intervals to conform with the slope. Pausanias said that the road was the direct road to Lechaeum, and it leads in that exact direction, just a little off of due north.

The SHOPS on the west side of the Lechaeum Road were sixteen in number, were well preserved, and were open at the front, under an imposing colonnade that ran the entire length. The shops on the west side were decorated in large part with marble, thus considerably more elaborate than those on the east side, and probably built at a different time. At one time, the east side was probably also filled with shops, but the remains are considerably fewer than for the west side.

At the south end of the Lechaeum Road, and marking the entrance to the Forum or Agora, was the PROPYLAEA, mentioned by Pausanias as an arch of triumph with sculptures of Helios the sun-god and his son Phaethon, each in a four-horse chariot. This structure probably presented a very imposing sight to him who walked down the Lechaeum Road toward the Agora, with Acrocorinth looming in the background.

We note next the PERIBOLOS OF APOLLO. An inscription was found on its frieze, dating ca. the first century A.D., however the Peribolos is known not to have been completed until later. Pausanias said that there was a statue of Apollo in the building, and also a painting of Odysseus slaying the suitors of Penelope. The painting might yet be found on some of the unexcavated walls, but there are remnants of what might be a suitable base for the statue in the court. The building is directly over the overflow drains from the fountain of Peirene nearby, which also served as a sewer for the public latrine on the north of the Peribolos, the shops, baths, etc. Beyond the circular foundation and the drain have been found

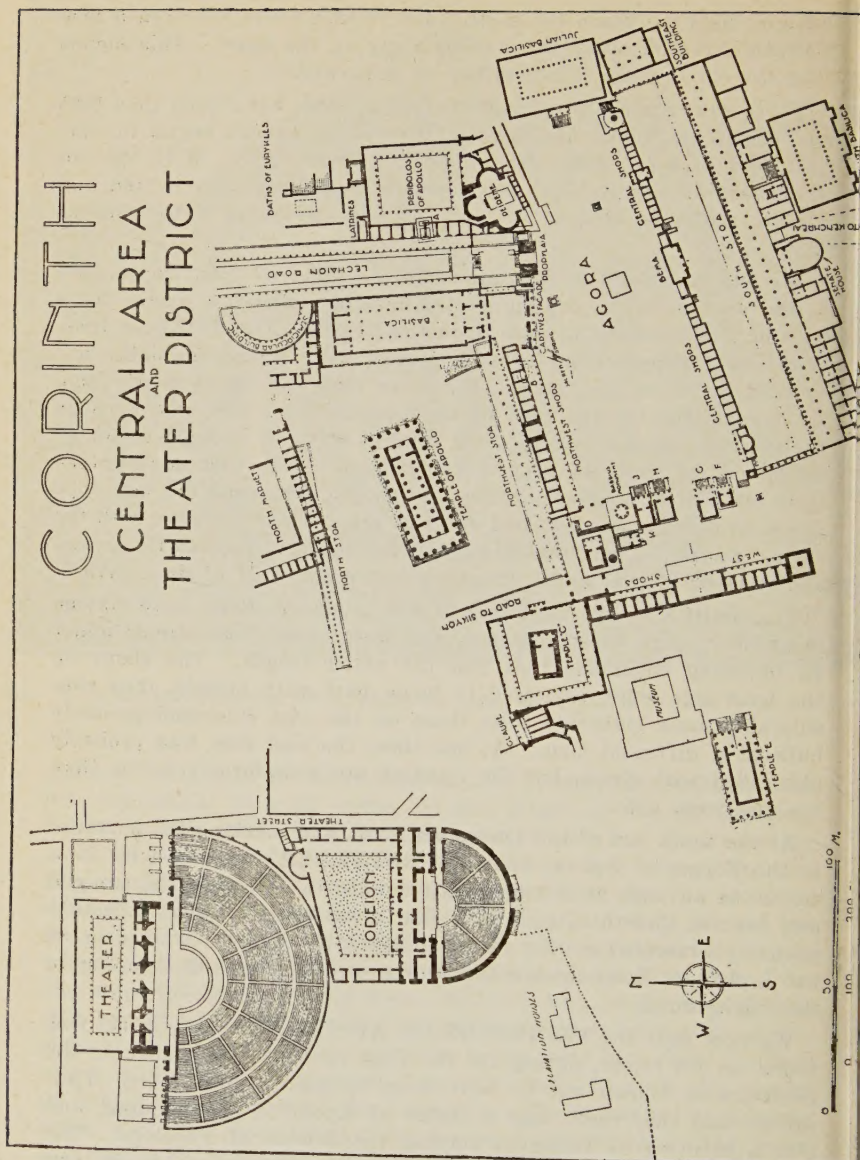


Fig. 2. CORINTH IN THE SECOND CENTURY A. D. This plan of the central area and theater district is based upon the results of excavations carried on since 1896.

The photographs appearing in this article are, with one exception, from the photographic files of the American School of Classical Studies; that in figure 1 was made by D. A. Harissiadis.

Pictures by Permission of *Biblical Archeologist*

remains of a bronze foundry. The date of this find and its nature seem sufficient to support the historical accounts about Corinthian Bronze, and also allows amusing notice to the old saying that the excellence of the bronze was from being dipped in Peirene water.

The FOUNTAIN OF PEIRENE is perhaps the most famous of ancient Greek fountains. It consisted of six stone arches over the entrance rooms on the south side of its court, which contained a basin 20' x 30' x 4' deep, and which had a marble floor and a white stone gutter. The stone arches served as facade to six low, square chambers, out of which the water flowed into the basin, through spouts of a cement-lined conduit that passed on three sides of the basin. The storage reservoirs for the water were four in number, cut into the native rock and behind the arched facade. These chambers were 7' wide and about 6' apart. The two eastern ones were 65' long and the other two 80' long. All were lined throughout with a hard water-proof plaster, some of which is still preserved. This plaster, not to mention the entire fountain, is an engineering triumph. The sources, one from the east and one from the southwest, traced only 300' supply about 3,000 gallons per hour normally, and the reservoir capacities are estimated to total over 100,000 gallons. The fountain today serves the water supply for the modern city, carried, of course, through iron pipes. The word "Peirene" has been found on a block of the architrave, in fifth or sixth century lettering. Truly this is one of the most important of all Corinth's ancient structures, and its history is rather complicated, though certainly interesting.

Behind the slopes on the west side of the Lechaem Road, and on the terrace formed by their west wall was the BASILICA, a building 210' x 75'. Its main hall was 150' long and had 28 columns. There were three rooms at either end, one of which it is thought may have been the tribunal where Paul stood before Gallio.

The great AGORA, or Forum, entered through the Propylaea from the Lechaem Road was about 700' long, the Propylaea being about 200' from the east side. It was about 300' from north to south. At one time the entire area was paved with marble. There were two main levels, the higher terrace on the south being about 100' wide on the east and somewhat wider on the west, with the difference in elevation of the two levels being as much as 13 feet in one place. There is much excavating yet to be done, that already done requiring removal of debris fifteen feet deep to the pavement, and thirty-four feet deep to some early Greek levels. The Agora was bounded on the east by the Julian Basilica and the East Building, on the south by a great stoa, the west by a series of small temples and an aqueduct in front of some small shops and on the north by the Northwest Shops and Stoa and the Captive's Facade.

The SACRED SPRING, under the Triglyph Wall, was built about the fifth century, B.C., and was originally an open, stone-paved area. Water flowed from two fifth century B.C. bronze lion's head spouts in the wall at the foot of the stairs. The holy water, used

at the early shrine, was very scarce, as evidenced by thin bronze sheaths over each joint of the conduit, to save each drop, and the fact that the spouts are not much worn. When the water supply failed, after the Triglyph Wall had been built over the fountain and had enclosed it, the fountain was covered over with slabs and earth, and perfectly preserved for the excavators. A new source of water for the shrine was brought in through a stone conduit directly over the old fountain, but seven feet higher up, and emptied into a small square basin, from which jars could be filled for purposes of the shrine. This served until the Roman conquest of 146 B.C.

Near the Sacred Spring and Triglyph Wall are the remains of TEMPLE "B," the Oracular Shrine of the Sacred Spring. This was a small square structure with a semicircular apse in the western end, dating from the fifth century, B.C. Its altar stood within a shallow circular well, from which the water flowed through a covered stone conduit to the east edge of the terrace, and from a spout in a triglyph frieze metope, into a stone bowl. There was a tunnel, large enough for a man to enter, built alongside this conduit and going right up under the altar, with a hole from the altar into the tunnel that might be suitable for "megaphone" purposes. The tunnel entrance was through the next metope of the triglyph frieze to the one with the water spout. The swinging door arrangement was concealed to look like all the other metopes of the frieze, but just inside, was a real door with a lock. Furthermore, there was a warning sign near the metope-door, that this was a sacred area and not to be entered on penalty of a fine. The original of this inscription is in the Museum. All of this adds up to indicate that here was no less than the explanation of the way that the shrine gave out "oracles," as a man in the tunnel under the fountain could have heard and answered the suppliant's questions.

The NORTHWEST SHOPS was a series of fifteen chambers bounding the Agora on the north, and under the Temple Hill. Immediately behind them is the NORTHWEST STOA, 300' long, and forming the north border of the Agora until the shops were built, about the first century.

The TEMPLE OF APOLLO occupied the hill north of the Agora and west of the Lechaem Road. Access to the hill was gained by a flight of steps at the southeast corner of the hill, by the Basilica. The Temple foundations were cut out of the living rock and are are yet clearly observable. Seven of the thirty-eight original archaic Doric columns of the peristyle remain. The columns are monoliths, twenty-four feet tall, and a little less than six feet in diameter. The temple was in use from about the sixth to the third century B.C. There were six columns at each end of the Temple, and fifteen on either side. At each end there was a vestibule, with two columns between antae. The naos was divided into two rooms back to back. There are remains of a base suitable for a statue near the partition wall in the western room.

There are remains of a ROMAN MARKET at the edge of the Temple Hill, but the excavation is only about half complete.

The SOUTH STOA is one of the largest buildings in all ancient Greece, being about 500' long, all the way across the southern side of the Agora. There were seventy-one Doric columns, one drum of one of the columns still standing. Inside were thirty-four Ionic columns, between which were thirty-three shops. Each shop had a store-room behind, and also a well. One became a fountain, with a beautiful film of water flowing over marble slabs. The carved mouldings, mosaic designs, and paintings in these several rooms were very ornate.

West of the Agora is the FOUNTAIN OF GLAUKE, which is in plan similar to Peirene, with four great reservoirs and three draw-basins. There was a portico with three square pillars between antae before the basins, and a heavy stone ceiling, all cut out of living rock, except small portions. The reservoirs and basins were lined with a hard waterproof cement. The storage capacity was about 14,400 gallons, the water being supplied from a spring near Acrocorinth through a small conduit. The well was also used by the Romans, but was in disuse for a great period. At one time in its history, it was used as a sheepfold. The fountain was named "Glauke" for King Kreon's daughter, who was said to have flung herself into the water to escape action of poison clothing made for her by her rival in love. A stone with the word "Glauke" was found nearby.

Northwest of Glauke is the ODEUM, or music building, the seats of which were built in the natural slope, many being cut out of native rock, with the others supported by concrete vaults (especially on the west side). The stage areas were on the north. The seating capacity was about 3,000. There were four sections, divided by three aisles, the upper gallery being entered from the higher ground level. The first story of the stage building was a series of piers supporting stone arches. It is not known about the nature of the other stories. The plan was a common type, similar to those in Pompeii. The building was rebuilt several times, once by Herodes Atticus.

It was quite elaborately finished and decorated in marble. At one time it had a channel for a curtain in front of the stage. About A.D. 225, the Odeum was restored as an arena for gladiatorial shows, some of the lower rows of seats being cut away to make the pit. The final destruction of the Odeum probably dates to Alaric's invasion in 395 A.D.

The THEATER is north and a little west of the Odeum and also faces north. It had stone seats of the Greek period in the auditorium, but in the Roman period other seats were built over these on a higher level. Gladiatorial scenes are painted on the walls, the colors showing up well at the time of the excavations. Pictured are an official of the games, a bull-fight, an acrobat vaulting a

leopard, and an athlete jumping a lion. There are several levels in the pavement of the orchestra, reflecting the several times the building was remodeled. The Greek auditorium would seat 18,000 people. It is not certain about the size of the Roman structure. In a square building east of the stage, an inscription in a floor block says "Erastus, Procurator Aedile, laid the pavement at his own expense." This is said to date about 50 A.D. and could possibly refer to Paul's friend mentioned in Romans 16:23.

The SANCTUARY OF ASKLEPIOS is about 250 meters north of the Temple of Apollo, at the edge of the plateau, and by the Old Gymnasium and the Fountain of Lerna. The city wall passed at the outer edge of the cliff. Inside, and parallel to the wall, are cuttings for a shallow colonnade, also found on the south and west sides. Inside the colonnade was a prostyle tetrastyle Doric temple, with its foundations cut in the rock. Bases of the cult's statues, Asklepios and Hygieia, and of an offering table were also cut in the rocks. There was a sacred water-basin with a complicated system of terra-cotta pipes, above a large cistern. The building is identified with Asklepios from inscriptions of that name, from Pausanias' description, and from many terra-cotta *ex-votos*, representing arms, legs, and body parts in full size. These were exhumed from pockets in the rock and date about 350 B.C., during a prosperous period for the city. The street on the south descends rapidly and before being cut up into rooms in the Byzantine age was a passage to a "picnic spot" behind and below the west wall. Visitors to this recreation spot were refreshed by the cool breezes and the Fountain of Lerna. Pausanias described it rather carefully.

Coin finds in Corinth are not overly numerous in the areas already excavated. There seems to be no special information of interest to relate concerning them, but they definitely serve as invaluable aids in dating the several finds. Their location in the strata confirm the historical studies and also help to determine the changes between the strata.

Also invaluable in this same connection are the lamps and lamp shreds, which because of their styles and their constant use, enable the scholar to be rather exact in dating. The change from Greek to Roman civilization between 146 and 44 B.C. is clearly reflected in the lamp styles as well as the coins. Lamp manufacture and usage are also good keys to the knowledge of commercial activity and prosperity of the community.

One "choice" small find was in 1898 when the lintel of a building was found on the east side of the Lechaëum Road near the entrance to the Propylaea, with the partially preserved inscription "[sunagogue 'Ebr[aion]]" clearly discernible. The date of the inscription, which was poorly done, has been variously assigned from 100 B.C. to 200 A.D., so that no one could know whether it was the one belonging to the synagogue frequented by Paul. As the stone is heavy,

it is reasoned that it was not moved far, and therefore the synagogue must have been close by. The poor workmanship, however, is reason to suppose that the synagogue was not wealthy, so it may not have been able to own property in the immediate neighborhood. All these can be but mere conjectures, but could possibly be true. Certainly we may rest assured that Paul must have viewed and visited many of these very places that have been excavated to date.

The statuary in the Museum includes the pieces already mentioned and many others, of gods and goddesses, emperors and officials and others unidentifiable. None are peculiarly significant for this study, but of course the entire group reflects the history of the city and the thinking and living of the people, just as do the other finds, and all in all allow a rather definite picture of the historical, economic, and social life of the people.

ACROCORINTH, already mentioned, has other points of significance. Her fortifications included three gateways, with a draw-bridge across a dry moat outside the outer gate; a flanking-tower by the middle gate; and two flanking high towers on either side of the inner gate. These structures have Venetian, Turkish, and Byzantine elements in them, as well as earlier ones. Near the top there is the well-house of Upper Peirene, a wonderful fountain of fine water that never runs dry. Inscriptions scratched on the walls of the building date back to late Roman times. Some tradition has it that this fountain supplies the water for the Peirene within the city, hence the same name—but there is no basis for such assumption. Both fountains have had a remarkable history, however.

On the actual summit of Acrocorinth stood in classical times a shrine to Aphrodite, but which has been followed by a small basilical church, a medieval tower, a mosque, and finally by a paved platform. The first use is historically the most interesting, as no doubt the cult had great influence in its day. We note here Broneer's comment:

Of far greater fame, however, was the temple of Aphrodite (Venus), conspicuously situated on the topmost peak of Acrocorinth. In the legends this mountain was originally sacred to Helios, the Sun God, but was later given to the Goddess of Beauty and Love. In her service were a thousand female slaves, whose presence in the city gave Corinth its reputation for immorality (1 Cor. 6:9-20; 2 Cor. 12:20-21), and St. Paul found it necessary to warn the Christians against the evil practices of the pagans. In the name of religion these temple servants plied their trade openly and with such success that, according to the geographer Strabo, the city owed its prosperity to the attraction of these entertainers. The cult image in the temple on the mountain represented Aphrodite with the armor of Ares (Mars), using his shield as a mirror and the helmet as a foot rest. Her cult may have originally come from the Orient, but it was well established in Corinth as far back as the beginning of the fifth century B.C.¹

¹Broneer, Oscar, "Corinth," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, December, 1951, pp. 87, 88.

South of the Roman Villa a little way is the POTTER'S QUARTER, the locale of the beds of white Corinthian clay used by the ancient potters for their famous ware. There is a maze of walls nearby of the workshops, which date from the seventh to the fourth century, B.C. Discard and trial-pieces of pottery from the ovens are yet in evidence, indicating that the pottery was actually made on the spot. Many interesting small pieces, mould, etc., are in the Museum.

The connections of the city of Corinth with the Bible that have been found are obviously few. About the only one not already mentioned is the dating of Paul's visit there, which is made through an inscription found, not at Corinth, but at Delphi, on the other side of the Gulf of Corinth, about 6 miles inland. The inscription dates Gallio's arrival in Corinth accurately . . . "As Lucias Junius Gallio, my friend, and Proconsul of Achaia wrote . . ." Thus Gallio was actually the proconsul. The inscription dates at 52 A.D., from references to the emperor's reign. Gallio, then, must have arrived about A.D. 51, as the inscription assumes that he had been there for some time. Acts 18 speaks of Paul having been in Corinth 18 months before he was brought before Gallio, so Paul may have arrived there about the first of the year in A.D. 50, or perhaps 51.

The excavations at Corinth and their results have been quite successful, more so than in many of the ancient cities thus far excavated. Brought out in the economic life of the ancient Corinthians are the periods of prosperity and depression; the commercial life, including the traffic from other places and the widespread activities within the several shops of the city itself, in all of the several periods. In religion we note the several temples, the shrines, the statues, the cults, and recognize that certainly religion played a very large part in the lives of the people, even financially, as well as in their daily thinking and in their hopes and aspirations. Recreation was certainly not left out, with the Odeum, the Theater, and even the *belvedere*, or picnic or relaxation place. To think of 18,000 in attendance at the Theater, in comparison with the modern "football" crowds, is to recognize the human nature of those people and the fact that they were in no wise inactive. Health considerations of the Corinthians may be observed in the baths, the fountains, the public latrines, the services of the Asklepion, and even in the privilege of buying cold, fresh meats, kept in the wells of the shops around the Agora.

The recounting of the several details, and the reading of them, in connection with all the buildings and "finds" of the excavations, is, of course, tedious, like no doubt the digging of the excavations themselves was. But the ability to see the total picture when it is all finished, is at least partially to "step into the shoes" of the ancient Corinthian and sense the pulse and throb of the ancient city's life, and that more than repays the effort.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- American Journal of Archaeology*, V. 34 (1930) pp. 403-454; V. 37 (1933) pp. 554-572; V. 39 (1935) pp. 53-75; V. 40 (1936) pp. 21-45, 466-484 (1937) pp. 539-552; V. 42 (1938) pp. 362-370; V. 43 (1939) pp. 255-267, 592-600.
- Ancient Corinth*, A Guide to the Excavations and Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Protat Brothers, Macon, France, 1927.
- Ancient Corinth*, A Guide to Excavations, 3rd Edition, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Harvard University Press, 1936.
- Barton, George A. *Archeology and the Bible*, American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, 1925.
- Broneer, Oscar. "Corinth," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, December, 1951.
- Cobern, Camden M. *The New Testament Discoveries and their Bearing Upon the New Testament and Upon the Life and Times of the Primitive Church*, Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York and London, 2nd Ed. Revised, 1917.
- Corinth*, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
 Vol. I, Introduction, Topography, Architecture, Harvard University Press, 1932.
 Vol. I pt. 2, Architecture, Harvard University Press, 1941.
 Vol. III, pt. 1, Acrocorinth, Harvard University Press, 1930.
 Vol. IV, pt. 2, Terracotta Lamps, Harvard University Press, 1930.
 Vol. VI, Coins, Harvard University Press, 1933.
 Vol. X, The Odeum, Harvard University Press, 1932.
- Finegan, Jack, *Light From the Ancient Past*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1946.
- O'Neill, J. G. *Ancient Corinth*, With a Topographical Sketch of the Corinthia. Part I, From the Earliest Times to 404 B.C. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1930.

Paul and Corinth—His Visits and Letters

Roy Bowen Ward

Introduction

A proper study of 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. necessitates an understanding of their background, especially the connection that existed between the sender Paul, and the receiver, the church at Corinth. This paper is an attempt to point out this connection, both regarding Paul's visits to Corinth and the letters which he sent there. Various viewpoints will be surveyed in regard to the critical questions, and some direction will be given toward what seems to the writer to be the most probable answers. Bibliographical notes will be found in the footnotes.

A. Visits of Paul to Corinth

1. The First Visit—Acts 18.

The first visit of Paul to the city of Corinth is recorded in Acts 18:1-18. On this occasion the church was established, and Paul stayed there for 18 months (18:11). During this period Paul supported himself to some extent by tentmaking (18:5); he also received support from Macedonia (2 Cor. 11:9), but none from the church at Corinth. Also during this period he wrote the two letters to the Thessalonians.

In the description of the first visit of Paul to Corinth Luke gives us two clues concerning the date of this visit, which date is critical for the whole question of Pauline chronology. The first clue is that Aquila and Priscilla are in Corinth because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to leave Rome (18:2). Orosius (fl. 417 A.D.) tells us that this act occurred in the 9th year of the reign of Claudius, i.e., 50 A.D.¹ Therefore, the date of Paul's arrival in Corinth would be close to 50 A.D.

The second clue is to be found in Luke's introduction of the new proconsul of Achaia, Gallio (18:12ff.). Gallio was the brother of the philosopher Seneca, but was adopted by the senator L. Junius Gallio, by which name he was then known. The context suggests that Paul's departure from Corinth came not long after the arrival of Gallio (compare Acts 18:12 and 18:18). Because of the discovery

¹*Historiarum adversum Paganos*, VII. 6. 15. *Anno eiusdem nono expulsos per Claudium urbe Iudaeos Iosephus refert. etc.* (edition of C. Zangemeister, Lipsiae, 1889.)

John Knox dates the expulsion of the Jews from Rome at 41 A.D., basing his theory on evidence from Suetonius and Dio Cassius. *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (N. Y., 1950) p. 82. However, no date can be deduced from Suetonius' reference since this historian simply lumps together the various deeds of Claudius in a long list (*Divus Claudius*, XXV). And the reference in Dio is not to the expulsion of the Jews, but to a limitation of assembly imposed on them in 41 A.D. (*Roman History*, LX. 6. 6)

of an inscription at Delphi, the date of Gallio's proconsulship can be placed at 52 A.D.² Therefore, Paul's departure from Corinth (18:18) was probably in the same year.

2. A Second Visit—Acts 20.

Although Corinth is not mentioned by name, it is usually assumed that the reference to a visit to "Greece" in Acts 20:2 included the capital and chief city of Achaia, Corinth. This visit took place after Paul's lengthy stay in Ephesus, and it lasted 3 months—probably the winter months of 55-56 A.D. During this period Paul probably wrote his letter to Rome, after which he headed for Jerusalem by way of Macedonia with the collection (Rom. 15:25).

3. A "Painful" Visit.

Although Luke records only two visits to Corinth, it is quite probable that there was yet another visit of Paul to Corinth, a visit which is usually referred to as the "painful" visit. The passages directly relevant to this "painful" visit are 2 Cor. 2:1f.; 12:14; and 13:1f.

NT interpreters are not in agreement concerning this "painful" visit. The first question raised is: Was there in fact a "painful" visit? And the second question is: If there was such a visit, when did it take place?

(a) *Prima facie*, the passages cited above suggest that when Paul wrote 2 Cor., he was about to make his *third* visit to Corinth (12:14; 13:1) and that the last visit had not been a pleasant one (2:1f.). The context of the passages suggests a situation in which Paul hoped that his coming this time would not be such as it was before. Yet the visit recorded in Acts 18 hardly fits the picture of such unpleasantness—there must have been an unrecorded visit. Notice especially what Paul says in 13:2: "I said it before and I still do say it, as when present the second time and absent now, to those who sinned before and to all the rest, that if I do come for this again, I will not spare."

A theory which denies the reality of a "painful" visit is possible because of the grammatical ambiguity of the key passages, an ambiguity which allows the interpretation that this was to be the third time Paul *intended* to go to Corinth, although it would actually be only the second visit. Thus Baur argued in his epoch-making work on Paul.³ But if ambiguity allows either interpretation—three trips or three intentions—why interpret them in the latter way? One reason is the silence of Acts concerning any "painful" visit. But this need not be disturbing; a quick comparison of 2 Cor. 11:24ff with the record of Acts will show that only a few of the beatings, stonings, etc., which Paul lists are recorded by Luke. A more important reason for interpreting these passages as referring to *in-*

²See G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. 2 (1917), no. 801.

³*Paul* (translation of 2nd German edition, 1876), vol. 1, pp. 302ff.

tentions—and thus denying the reality of a “painful” visit—is the supposed relationship between 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. It is on this point that Baur argues most effectively, for he assumes that the letter referred to at 2 Cor. 2:3 is our 1 Cor. and that 2 Cor. was written too soon after 1 Cor. to allow for any trip to and from Ephesus and Corinth intervening between the letters. Since Baur’s time both of these assumptions have been vigorously attacked,⁴ and most contemporary interpreters accept the *prima facie* case, admitting the reality of a painful visit.⁵

(b) Accepting the reality of a “painful” visit still leaves the question of when did it take place. Those who would identify the letter referred to at 2 Cor. 2:3 with 1 Cor., and who accept the reality of a “painful” visit, incline to place it before the writing of 1 Cor.⁶ But this interpretation, although possible, is unlikely due to the nature of 1 Cor. This letter is based on secondary knowledge—a report from Chloe’s household and a letter from Corinth—and not on personal knowledge. The only visit to which Paul makes reference is the first visit (2:1; 3:2; 9:2). It seems highly improbable that Paul wrote 1 Cor. after a recent “painful” visit.

The most widely accepted view today and the most probable view is that Paul made a “painful” visit to Corinth after writing 1 Cor. and before writing 2 Cor. The details of the visit have been the object of much informed speculation, and the reconstruction of Strachan fits the framework of facts as we know them. News is suddenly brought to Paul, who is in Ephesus (Acts 19). The report, probably carried by Timothy (1 Cor. 16:10ff.), states that the condition in Corinth has become very serious. Paul, feeling that he must deal with the problem personally, crossed the Aegean Sea to Corinth. There he found opposition to his leadership (note Paul’s later defense of his apostleship in 2 Cor. 10-13). The opposition was led evidently by one particular individual (2 Cor. 2:5ff.). Whatever happened, Paul probably left quickly and somewhat ignominiously (2 Cor. 2:4). Back in Ephesus he dispatched Titus with a severe letter (2 Cor. 2:3), the results of which Paul learned later in Macedonia where he met Titus (2 Cor. 7:6).⁷ Sea travel between Ephesus and Corinth was easily and quickly accomplished in those

⁴See *Infra*, pp. 10ff.

⁵A. Plummer lists important interpreters who hold one or the other view, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (I.C.C. series, N. Y. 1915), p. xvii. However, he appears to be in error in placing Lange in the list of those who denied or doubted the “painful” visit. Since Plummer’s time the list of those who accept the reality of the “painful” visit include: Filson, Kennedy, Lake, Menzies, Strachan.

⁶See the argument in Conybeare and Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (N. Y., 1869) p. 375 and note. See also the list of advocates in Plummer, *loc. cit.*

⁷This reconstruction in general follows that of R. Strachan, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (Moffatt series, N. Y., 1935), pp. 68-70.

days,⁸ so that even if 1 Cor. was written at the Passover season of Paul's last year in Ephesus, there would have been time for the "painful" visit before Paul's expected departure at Pentecost (1 Cor. 16:8).⁹

B. The Corinthian Correspondence

1. Number of Letters.

It is apparent that Paul wrote several letters to the church at Corinth—certainly three, probably four, possibly more. The probable four letters are the following:

Cor. A, the "previous" letter, referred to in 1 Cor. 5:9, in which Paul included an injunction against associating with immoral persons. There is no indication of the place of its composition nor of its date, although it was surely written somewhere between 52 and 55 A.D.

Cor. B, a letter written in response to a report from members of the household of Chloe (1 Cor. 1:11) and to a letter from the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 7:1; etc.). *Cor. B* was written from Ephesus (1 Cor. 16:8) during his extended stay there (Acts 19). His reference to travel plans (1 Cor. 16:5f.) and his reference to Pentecost as the time of his departure (1 Cor. 16:8) suggest that it was written in the last year of his almost three year stay in Ephesus, i.e., 54-55 A.D. It may have been written in the early spring at Passover—note the Passover symbolism at 1 Cor. 5:7. Or it may have been written earlier, in the fall—compare 2 Cor. 9:2 with 1 Cor. 16:1. Others have held that *Cor. B* was written even earlier in the Ephe-

⁸See K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (London, 1911), p. 152. The lengthy chapter dealing with Corinth is standard material for the student of the Corinthian letters, whether he accepts all of the conclusions of this sometime Harvard professor or not.

⁹For detailed studies of this question see the following: J. Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles to the Corinthians* (London, 1900), pp. 1-14; Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-154; Strachan, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-70.

Another possibility should be noted, although it has had few audible adherents. T. W. Manson has suggested that the usual view of the "painful" visit is all conjecture and quite unnecessary. Rather, Manson suggests that Paul left Ephesus for Corinth in accordance with his travel plans expressed in 2 Cor. 1:15. But because of opposition to him there, he canceled the second half of his plans, i.e., his intention to return to Corinth from Macedonia before going to Jerusalem. Thus, there was no "painful," unpremeditated journey from Ephesus to Corinth and back again.

But Manson's theory clashes strongly with the record in Acts, especially Acts 20:1 which states that after the riot in Ephesus, Paul departed for Macedonia, not Corinth! To this objection Manson merely discredits the reliability of Acts, stating: "The conclusion of the whole matter is that the author of Acts knew much less than we do about the events at the end of the Ephesian ministry." "St. Paul in Ephesus: (4) The Corinthian Correspondence," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 26 (1941), p. 340.

sian ministry, and though Paul planned to leave Ephesus at Pentecost, he did not until later.¹⁰

Cor. C, the "severe" letter, referred to at 2 Cor. 2:3ff. and at 7:8, 12. This letter was evidently written after the "painful" visit (2 Cor. 2:1ff.). It was written "out of much affliction and anguish of heart and with many tears" (2 Cor. 2:4). It particularly concerned an individual who had wronged Paul (2 Cor. 2:5-11; 7:12), but it also concerned the church in general (2 Cor. 7:8, 9). In addition to the matter of this offense, and no doubt because of it, Cor. C was also a letter written as an excuse for not paying another painful visit (2 Cor. 2:3).

Cor. D, the letter written from Macedonia after receiving the report of Titus (2 Cor. 2:12, 13; 7:5ff.).

2. Identification of the Letters.

(a) Cor. A is presumed lost. Grammatically, it is possible that the reference by Paul (1 Cor. 5:9) is to the letter he is presently writing, i.e., 1 Cor. But there is nothing in 1 Cor. which fits the statement, nor does the context allow this identification.

There are some who hold that a fragment of Cor. A is preserved at 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1. In this theory, which attacks the unity of 2 Cor., it is argued that 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 is an abrupt departure from the context and that, if it is omitted, 2 Cor. 6:11-13 + 7:2-4 read smoothly as a connected passage. If the passage is out of place in 2 Cor., then, it is alleged, it may well be a fragment of Cor. A, since it contains the precise warning referred to in 1 Cor. 5:9. On the other hand, there is absolutely no ms. or patristic evidence to suggest that the passage is out of place in its present context. Furthermore, Filson argues that the passage reads as a digression which Paul himself made and that 7:2 reads as though Paul now resumes the former topic.¹¹

A more elaborate theory for identifying Cor. A has been suggested by J. Weiss, who includes not only 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1, but also fragments of 1 Cor.—10:1-23; 6:12-20; 11:2-34; 16:7(?); "perhaps" 16:20f.¹² M. Goguel has followed with a similar but less elaborate theory, identifying Cor. A with 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 and 1 Cor. 6:12-20; 10:1-22.¹³ More recently W. Schmithals has identified Cor. A with 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 and 1 Cor. 9:24-10:22; 6:12-20; 11:2-34; 15; 16:

¹⁰See the effective arguments of Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-77.

¹¹F. Filson, "II Corinthians," *Interpreter's Bible* (N. Y., 1951), vol. 10, pp. 269, 270. Also see the excellent discussion in Plummer, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxvi.

¹²J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Meyer series, Goettingen, 1910). This view is presented in the recent paperback English translation of his *Das Urchristentum* under the title, *Earliest Christianity*, pp. 323-357.

¹³M. Goguel, *Introduction au Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1926), vol. 4-2, pp. 72-86.

13-24.¹⁴ These views, in addition to facing the criticisms listed above for tampering with 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1, also face even stronger criticism for tampering with the order and integrity of 1 Cor.¹⁵

If Cor. A cannot be identified with 1 Cor. nor with 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1, nor with fragments of 1 Cor., then it must be no longer extant.

(b) Cor. B is obviously to be identified with our canonical 1 Cor. Except for the theories of J. Weiss, Goguel, Schmithals, etc., there is no serious question regarding its unity. Nor is there any serious question regarding its authenticity. The hypercritical Tuebingen School included 1 Cor. among its "four genuine Pauline epistles," and Baur wrote:

There has never been the slightest suspicion of unauthenticity cast on these four Epistles (Gal., I Cor., II Cor. and Rom.) and they bear so incontestably the character of Pauline originality that there is no conceivable ground for the assertion of critical doubts in their case.¹⁶

And since the time of Baur, no one has seriously doubted this.

(c) The identification of Cor. C is the most difficult task laid before us. Traditionally, it has been identified with 1 Cor.¹⁷ This view includes the identifying of the "offender" (2 Cor. 2:5ff. and 7:12) with the incestuous man (1 Cor. 5:1ff.); and it necessitates either denying the reality of the "painful" visit or the placing of that visit prior to 1 Cor. It is highly unlikely that 1 Cor. is the "severe" letter, primarily because 1 Cor. does not fit the description. It hardly seems like a letter written "out of much affliction and anguish of heart" nor "with many tears" (2 Cor. 2:4). 1 Cor. was not written in *lieu* of a visit (2 Cor. 2:1ff.), but as a *prelude* to a visit (1 Cor. 16:5ff.). Furthermore, in view of 2 Cor. 2:9 and 7:12, it is impossible to identify the "offender" of 2 Cor. with the incestuous man of 1 Cor.; rather, the "offender" was a personal opponent of Paul. And finally, as has been shown, it is probable that there was, in fact, a "painful" visit intervening between 1 Cor. and 2 Cor., making it all but impossible to identify Cor. C with 1 Cor.¹⁸

¹⁴W. Schmithals, *Die Gnosis in Korinth* (Goettingen, 1956), pp. 22ff. Schmithals is especially interested to prove that the opponents of Paul were Gnostic. See the excellent bibliography at the beginning of this work.

¹⁵See the defense of the basic unity of 1 Cor. in J. Moffatt, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (Moffatt series, N. Y., 1938), pp. xxiv, xxv.

¹⁶Baur, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 246.

¹⁷A good defense of the traditional view is found in T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* (English translation, N. Y., 1909), vol. 1, pp. 312-316.

Plummer lists the following as advocates of the traditional view: Alford, Beet, J. H. Bernard, Conybeare and Howson, Denney, Lias, McFadyen, Meyer, B. Weiss, and Zahn; *op. cit.*, p. xxviii. In addition, this has been the view expressed by commentators of the churches of Christ: D. Lipscomb and J. Shepherd (Gospel Advocate series) and J. McGarvey and P. Pendleton (Standard series).

¹⁸See Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

Another theory seeks to identify Cor. C, the "severe" letter, with 2 Cor. 10-13. This theory was set forth in Germany by A. Hausrath in 1870,¹⁹ and it was introduced to English students by J. Kennedy in 1900.²⁰ Kennedy and his followers differ from the earlier view of Hausrath in holding that 2 Cor. 10-13 is only a *part* of Cor. C, not the *whole* of the letter; this rest of the "severe" letter is presumed lost. The supporting evidence for this theory may be briefly summarized in two propositions: (a) There is an abrupt break between 2 Cor. 1-9 and 10-13. (b) Internal evidence shows that 10-13 was written prior to 1-9 and that it corresponds to the description of Cor. C at 2 Cor. 2 and 7. In regard to (a), it is pointed out that 1-9 ends with these joyous words: "Thanks be to God for this indescribable gift!" But 10:1 begins a harsh, severe section. In regard to (b), in addition to arguments about the general characteristics of 10-13, three parallel passages are presented to show the temporal priority of 10-13 over 1-9.

- (i) "I write this while I am away from you, in order that when I come I may not have to be severe . . ." (2 Cor. 13:10).
- (ii) ". . . if I come again I will not spare them" (2 Cor. 13:2).
- (iii) ". . . being ready to punish every disobedience, when your obedience is complete" (2 Cor. 10:6).

"And I wrote as I did, so that when I came I might not be pained . . ." (2 Cor. 2:3).

". . . it was to spare you that I refrained from coming to Corinth" (2 Cor. 1:23).
 "For this is why I wrote, that I might test you and know whether you are obedient in everything" (2 Cor. 2:9).²¹

In addition, there are linguistic arguments (especially relative to the different use of *kauchasthai* in 10-13 and 1-9) and other subsidiary arguments.²²

Arguments in opposition to this theory fall into two categories: arguments against the theory itself and arguments for the unity of 2 Cor. Under the former category, it is said that 2 Cor. simply does not answer the description of Cor. C. In 10-13 no excuse is given for Paul's not coming, and nothing is said about the offender. This argument is conclusive against Hausrath who claimed 10-13 to

¹⁹*Der Vier-Capitelbrief des Paulus an die Korinther* (Berlin, 1870). The view of Hausrath was worked out by P. Schmiedel, "Die Briefe an die Korinther," *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament* (Holtzmann series, Freiburg, 1891).

²⁰*Op. cit.*, Kennedy writes that his formulation of this theory was independent of the work of Hausrath, *ibid.*, pp. xii-xiv.

²¹The above translation is that of the RSV.

²²See the arguments of Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-164.

Plummer lists the following adherents to this theory: Adeney, Bacon, Clemen, Cone, Cramer, Hausrath, Kennedy, Koenig, K. Lake, Lipsius, Lisco, McGiffert, Massie, Michelsen, Moffatt, Paulus, Peake, Pfeleiderer, Rendall, Schmiedel, R. Scott, Seufert, Voelter, Von Soden, Wagenmann, and Weisse; *op. cit.*, p. xxviii. In addition are the following: Enslin, Filson, Strachan, etc.

be the whole of Cor. C; Kennedy, by claiming it to be only a part of Cor. C, avoids this argument. But against both Hausrath and Kennedy it can be maintained that 10-13 do not give the appearance of having been written in tears. Menzies says of these last chapters, "They are a fighting piece, in which stroke follows stroke too quickly to leave room for tears."²³ Under the second category—arguments for the unity of 2 Cor.—is to be found the strongest single argument: there is no ms. or patristic evidence to warrant any tampering with the order and integrity of 2 Cor. as it now exists.²⁴ But those who affirm the unity of 2 Cor. must, nevertheless, answer the question raised by Hausrath, Kennedy, et al. How is the sudden change of tone at 10:1 to be explained? Traditionally this change of tone has been explained by saying that at this point Paul turns from addressing the church in general to addressing the offending party in particular. Lietzmann attributed the change to a sleepless night. Some have said that here Paul himself takes over the pen from his amanuensis (10:1 reads—*autos de ego Paulos ktl.*). Furthermore, digression and sharp changes are not unknown to Paul. At this point it should be pointed out that the alleged difference between 1-9 and 10-13 is not as clear and sharp as some would say. 1-9 is supposedly a "joyous," thankful letter; yet note the *polemical* passages—1:17; 3:1ff.; 5:12; 6:11ff.; 7:2ff. Furthermore, chapters 8 and 9—which end on a joyous note, 9:15—do not necessarily suggest that *all is well* at Corinth. The way in which Paul pleads for the Corinthians to fulfill their obligation for the collection which they had promised a year previous could mean that a recalcitrant minority still opposes Paul, even in the matter of the collection. Could it not be that when Paul speaks of his "pride" in the Corinthians, he does it with tongue-in-cheek? (See 9:1ff., esp. vs. 3.) So then, Paul speaks joyously at the end of this section, not because he is so confident in the people at Corinth, but because he is confident that God will move them to do this good work.²⁵ If this interpretation is correct, the change between 9:15 and 10:1 is not as sharp as has been assumed. If there are highly defensive statements in 1-9, and if the break between 8, 9 and 10-13 is not so sharp, on what basis can 10-13 be removed from our present 2 Cor.?

The fact that there are polemical passages in 2 Cor. 1-9 has led some interpreters²⁶ to go much further than Hausrath or Kennedy in their dissecting of 2 Cor. in order to recover Cor. C. Schmithals,

²³Menzies, *The Second Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians* (London, 1912), p. xix. Menzies presents one of the strongest defenses of the unity of 2 Cor. written in English.

²⁴Since the discovery of the Chester Beatty Papyri we have a ms. of the Pauline Corpus (p. 46) dated as early as 200 A.D.

²⁵This interpretation may be a little bit too clever, but the translation of J. B. Phillips strongly suggests the possibility. *Letters to Young Churches* (London, 1947).

²⁶J. Weiss, *op. cit.*; Goguel, *op. cit.*

for instance, who holds that our present Corinthian correspondence should be divided into six letters, claims that 2 Cor. 2:14-6:3 and 7:2-4 originally belonged to a semi-harsh letter sent following the "painful" visit. 2 Cor. 10-13:3 then is a part of a painful letter, written when the situation had worsened.²⁷ Schmithals employs more consistency in his theory than Hausrath, Kennedy, et al. But he likewise faces many of the same arguments for the unity of 2 Cor., and—even more so—faces the difficulty of explaining how all the "bits" of his six letters came to be put together in the present order of 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. It is conceivable that someone in Corinth found two letters of Paul (2 Cor. 1-9 and 10-13) and simply copied both on one scroll or in one codex. But it is difficult to imagine the situation would produce our present 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. if Schmithals is correct. First, he must assume that the autographs were not copied as written, for not one ms. indicates any other order than the present order. Second, he must assume that Paul was so little thought of that all his letters were allowed to rot away so that only fragments remained. Third, he must assume that the poor redactor was such an illogical man that he put the fragments together in their present "illogical" order—remember, the dissecting of the letters is based primarily on the assumption that they are logically out of place! Either the redactor was illogical or he didn't care how he did it—and yet the theory is that the Corinthian fragments were put together when a Pauline Corpus was being prepared for circulation, and certainly if that was so, someone must have cared! Furthermore, Clement, about 40 years after Paul's writing, refers to Paul's "letter" in his letter to Corinth. If the letter Clement knew was the product of the Corinthian redactor, then the redaction must have taken place at least several years before. But in 30 or 35 years would all memory of the original Pauline letters—their number and order, etc.—be forgotten?

If Cor. C cannot be identified with 1 Cor., nor with 2 Cor. 10-13, nor with some other part of the existing Corinthian correspondence, then Cor. C, the "severe" letter, must be lost. It was a painful letter, a letter Paul regretted having written at the time, and thus it was probably not deemed necessary or profitable to copy it for public reading in the churches. In time it became lost.²⁸

(d) What Cor. D includes depends on the previous arguments. Some would exclude 6:14-7:1.²⁹ Others would exclude 10-13.³⁰ Still

²⁷Schmithals, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-31.

²⁸Plummer lists the following who regard Cor. C as wholly lost: Bachmann, Barth, Bleek, Bousset, Credner, Drummond, Ewald, Farrar, Findlay, Godet, Heinrichi, Kloepper, Jacquier, Juelicher, Lietzmann, Menzies, Neander, Olshausen, Sabatier, Sanday, Weizsaecher, Ziegler; *loc. cit.* In addition to these are the following: Allo, Craig, Goudge, Wendland, etc.

²⁹See *supra*, p. 8.

³⁰See *supra*, pp. 10ff.

others would omit all polemical passages, such as 2:14-6:13 and 7:2-4.³¹

Further theories have been suggested which would question the position of 2 Cor. 8, 9 in this letter, claiming that chapter 9 duplicates chapter 8.³² This view has few advocates, and Filson has well stated the objections.³³

Finally, some would remove 10-13 from this letter, not identifying it with Cor. C, but rather suggesting that it was a part of a fifth letter written *after* 2 Cor. 1-9. This is the position of Windisch in his excellent German commentary,³⁴ and English readers will find a similar view in an article by L. Pherigo.³⁵ Pherigo bases his contention on the fact that 2 Cor. 8:16-24 seems to have been written *earlier* than 12:14-18. Both Windisch and Pherigo must meet the arguments that are made for the unity of 2 Cor.; and in addition, Pherigo's theory falls if the key verbs, *sunepempsamen* (8:18, 22) and *ekselthen* (8:17) are considered to refer to a past event, rather being used as epistolary aorists.³⁶

A final comment should be made concerning the unity of 2 Cor. in view of the fact that very strong arguments have been presented against this unity. Although 2 Cor. is held to be composite by many, no one denies that Paul wrote all of it—with the possible exception of the final exhortation, 13:11-14. And the Roman Catholic scholar, P. Cleary, maintains both the authenticity and the *inspiration* of all of it, while at the same time arguing that the correspondence is composite as we now have it.³⁷

C. A Reconstruction of Events and Letters

1. Paul arrives at Corinth from Athens (50 A.D.) and establishes the church. He stays with Aquila and Priscilla, and he writes the Thessalonian letters.
2. Paul leaves Corinth after 18 months (52 A.D.), leaving Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus and going on to Caesarea and Antioch.
3. Apollos arrives in Corinth, coming from Ephesus (52 A.D.). Others come to Corinth: the *pseudo-apostoloi* (2 Cor. 11:13), possibly Peter.³⁸

³¹See *supra*, pp. 13f.

³²See the arguments in H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (Meyer series, Goettingen, 1924), pp. 242, 243, 286-288.

³³Filson, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

³⁴*Op. cit.*

³⁵"Paul and the Corinthian Church," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 68 (1949), pp. 341-350.

³⁶As Pherigo admits, *ibid.*, pp. 349, 350.

³⁷"The Epistles to the Corinthians," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, vol. 12 (1950), pp. 10-33. Most Catholic interpreters accept the unity of 2 Cor., as E. Allo, *Seconde epître aux Corinthiens* (Paris, 1956). Allo's work is one of the best in French.

³⁸This raises the important question of who were the opponents of Paul. Most commentaries discuss this problem.

4. Paul reaches Ephesus and makes this Asian city his center of activity for probably three years (52-55 A.D.).
5. Paul writes a letter to Corinth, Cor. A, concerning immorality (52 or 53 A.D.).
6. The Corinthians write Paul a letter asking certain questions about marital relations, idol foods, order in worship, etc. Also, a report reaches Paul through the household of Chloe that there are divisions in the church. Paul responds with Cor. B—our 1 Cor. (fall of 54 or spring of 55 A.D.).
7. Timothy is sent to Corinth, perhaps carrying Cor. B.
8. Timothy returns to Paul in Ephesus with a bad report of the conditions in Corinth. Paul hastens by ship to Corinth, but his visit is "painful" and largely unsuccessful. He returns to Ephesus.
9. Paul, having told the Corinthians he would be back to Corinth before going to Macedonia, writes a letter (Cor. C) in lieu of that visit, a letter in which he also lashes out against the opposition to him in the church. Titus carries the letter to Corinth.
10. Timothy and Erastus are sent into Macedonia.
11. After the riot in Ephesus, Paul leaves Ephesus for Troas (spring, 55 A.D.). Not finding Titus, he goes on to Macedonia, joining Timothy and Erastus.
12. Titus returns to Paul in Macedonia with the report that the situation in Corinth is improved. Paul, along with Timothy, sends a letter (Cor. D—our 2 Cor.) which is taken ahead by Titus and two other brothers. They are to gather in the Corinthian collection before Paul himself arrives in Corinth.
13. Paul arrives in Corinth (winter 55-56 A.D.). He writes the letter to Rome during his 3 month stay.
14. Paul, after an unsuccessful attempt on his life, leaves Corinth by way of Macedonia (56 A.D.). He is on his way to Jerusalem with the collection.

The Church at Corinth Outside the New Testament

Everett Ferguson

The church at Corinth is involved in some of the earliest and most important evidence for church history outside the New Testament. Very shortly, however, this church, like other churches in Greece, slipped almost unnoticed from the historical record.

From the year 96 there has been preserved a letter from "the Church of God which sojourns in Rome to the Church of God which sojourns in Corinth." This letter bears the name of Clement, who was remembered as the writer, one of the bishops in the church at Rome. From its contents emerges a picture of the Corinthian church at the end of the first century.

The church at Corinth had passed from an extraordinary ministry of Spirit-filled men to a permanent leadership of appointed office-bearers. At the end of the first century it was organized according to the familiar pattern in New Testament churches with a plurality of bishops and deacons.¹ It appears to have been the custom at Corinth, as at Rome, to use the words "bishop" and "presbyter" in reference to the same men.²

All was not harmonious between the membership and the leadership of the Corinthian church. Internal dissension still plagued this church. A rebellion led by younger people against the duly appointed presbyters was the occasion of this letter from the Roman church to the Corinthian church.³ We know the situation only as it was viewed by the Roman church, and the details supplied by their letter are meagre.

The sedition (as it was viewed at Rome) had succeeded in removing some of the elders from office. Rome assumes that these elders were recognized as good men even by those who had removed them.⁴ The letter of Clement blames the strife on jealousy⁵ and pride.⁶ Hence, the letter enjoins the virtues of obedience, humility, gentleness, and love.⁷ Clement makes a Pauline plea for unity⁸ and refers to the "epistle of the blessed Paul" written by inspiration in order to put an end to a previous contention over personalities.⁹ Clement stresses the need for "good order" in the affairs of the church.¹⁰

¹I Clement 42, 44.

²*Ibid.*, 44.

³*Ibid.*, 1, 3, 44.

⁴*Ibid.*, 45.

⁵*Ibid.*, 4-6.

⁶*Ibid.*, 14, 30.

⁷*Ibid.*, 4-6, 16, 49.

⁸*Ibid.*, 46.

⁹*Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 37.

The church at Rome writes as a sister church with some specific suggestions to solve the problem at Corinth. Rome counsels that those who have led the rebellion should say, "If sedition and strife and divisions have arisen on my account, I will depart, I will go away whithersoever you will, and I will obey the commands of the people; only let the flock of Christ have peace with the presbyters set over it."¹¹ If one is not willing to do this, he is instructed, "You therefore, who laid the foundation of the sedition, submit to the presbyters, and receive the correction of repentance, bending the knees of your hearts."¹² The Roman church sent "faithful and prudent men" as messengers to carry their letter and to assist the church at Corinth in carrying out its instructions.¹³

It should be noted that although the letter from Rome says only "one or two" were ring-leaders,¹⁴ the whole Corinthian church was felt to need repentance. The existing situation was to be rectified in an assembly of the whole church. The tone of the letter suggests the autonomy and inherent democracy of the Corinthian congregation and a basic confidence that the Corinthian congregation will do the right thing. Such confidence indicates that the compliments paid to the Corinthians were not merely part of a stylized introduction.¹⁵ Apparently the Corinthian church heeded the injunctions from Rome, for later the letter was held in high esteem by the Corinthian Christians.

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth *circa* 170, indicated the continued close association between the Corinthian and Roman churches in a letter he wrote to bishop Soter of Rome. After acknowledging the charitable contributions made by Rome, Dionysius writes, "Today we observed the holy day of the Lord, and read out your letter, which we shall continue to read from time to time for our admonition, as we do with that which was formerly sent to us through Clement."¹⁶ But there was no sense of subservience to Rome. Dionysius reminded Soter that Corinth could claim both Peter and Paul also: they had taught in Corinth and were founders of that church before they were martyred at Rome.¹⁷

The correspondence of Dionysius mirrors the life of the whole church in the third quarter of the second century. It is unfortunate that we know this correspondence only from the brief descriptions and excerpts recorded by Eusebius. The latter enumerates eight

¹¹*Ibid.*, 54. Translation of Kirsopp Lake in the Loeb Classical Library.

¹²*Ibid.*, 57.

¹³*Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 1, 2.

¹⁶Quoted by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, IV.xxiii.11. The translation of Eusebius is by Kirsopp Lake in the Loeb Classical Library.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, II.xxv.8. (Cf. 1 Cor. 9:5; 1:12.)

letters by Dionysius, which he must have known in a corpus form. In addition to the letter to Soter at Rome, Dionysius wrote to individuals and churches in Greece, Crete, and Asia Minor. These letters opposed Marcion, dealt with problems raised by Montanism, advised against a stringent asceticism, and imparted practical spiritual counsel.

The position of Dionysius indicates that the Corinthian church had followed the general development and adopted mon-episcopacy. His predecessor, Primus, apparently occupied a similar position. Hegesippus writes as follows: "And the church of the Corinthians remained in the true doctrine until Primus was bishop of Corinth, and I conversed with them on my voyage to Rome, and spent some days with the Corinthians during which we were refreshed by the true word."¹⁸ If the silence of Hegesippus, a great compiler of succession lists about any earlier bishop, is significant, Primus may have been the first to stand out as a monarchical bishop at Corinth.

At the end of the second century the Corinthians, under the leadership of their bishop, Bacchyllus, sided with Rome in the controversy over the proper date for the observance of Easter. Bacchyllus convened a council of neighboring bishops (as was done in provinces all over the empire at the urging of bishop Victor of Rome) in order to give joint testimony that the resurrection could be celebrated only on a Sunday.¹⁹ He also wrote in defense of the Western date against the Quartodecimans. Jerome says of him that he "was held in renown under the same emperor Severus, and wrote, as representative of all the bishops who were in Achaia, an elegant work *On the Passover*."²⁰

The reputation of the Corinthian church for doctrinal orthodoxy survived the Gnostic crisis and was appealed to by Tertullian.²¹ Even in his Montanist days Tertullian was able to appeal to the practice of the Corinthian church: to his day they continued to veil their virgins.²² Such outward propriety was not the only indication of a changed state of affairs at Corinth: early in the third century Origen could speak of the Corinthian church as a "meek and stable body."²³

During the Decian persecution of the mid-third century the church

¹⁸*Ibid.*, IV.xxii.2. For the later traditional list of early bishops at Corinth, but without historical foundation, see R. Janin, "Corinthe," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1955), XIII, 876.

¹⁹Eus., *H. E.* V.xxii, xxiii.

²⁰Jerome, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, 44. Translation by E. C. Richardson in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series II, Vol. III, p. 372.

²¹*Prescription of Heretics* 36.

²²*Veiling of Virgins* 8.

²³*Against Celsus* III.xxx.

at Corinth felt the heavy hand of imperial Rome's wrath. A certain Leonides and his companions were martyred at Corinth.²⁴

The late third century is practically a void as far as materials for church history are concerned. Whereas other churches emerge into the light of historical testimony at the beginning of the fourth century, the Corinthian church remains in obscurity.

An indication of the involvement of Corinth in the Christological controversies of the fourth century comes from a letter written about 369 by Athanasius to Epictetus, bishop of Corinth.²⁵ Individuals at Corinth who accepted the Nicene Creed had debated the relation of the historical Christ to the Eeternal Son in the presenc of Epictetus. The problems raised were related to the ones which came to a head in Apollinarianism. One group identified the Logos and the humanity, either by assuming that the Logos was changed into flesh or that the flesh was itself non-natural and of the Divine Essence. The other group, like the later Nestorians, excluded a real union of the man Jesus with the Divine Son. Epictetus had a report of the discussion forwarded to Athanasius. The latter replied that such heretical opinions should not have ever been committed to writing and that Epictetus should have rejected them immediately. He then set forth an interpretation along the lines followed by the Chalcedonian definition in the next century.

From strife over personalities to controversy over the nature of Christ is coming a long way in religious development. Yet, in searching out the "deep things of God" the Corinthians were still exercising more of the "wisdom of this world" than "the greatest of these, which is love."

SELECTED BIBLIGRAPHY

Carrington, Philip. *The Early Christian Church*. 2 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1957.

Harnack, Adolph. *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*. 2 vols. Translated and edited by James Moffatt. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

Janin, R. "Corinthe." *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de geographie ecclesiastiques*. Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1955. Vol. XIII, 867-880.

Van der Meer, F., and Mohrmann, Christine. *Atlas of the Early Christian World*. Translated and edited by Mary F. Hedlund and H. H. Rowley. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958.

²⁴F. van der Meer and Christine Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (Translated and edited by Mary F. Hedlund and H. H. Rowley; New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958), Map 31. For references, see "Leonides (2)," *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (London: John Murray, 1882), III, 687.

²⁵Translated in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series II, Vol. IV, pp. 570-74.

Doctrinal and Exegetical —

Notes on Selected Passages in 1 Corinthians

Neil R. Lightfoot

This study seeks to throw a little light on the meaning of 1 Corinthians by examining at selected points the language of Paul. Every language has its own history and genius and stores its own secrets and treasures. Every language holds firmly to its own idiom, which often perplexes and sometimes defies its translator. No language, therefore, can ever be fully *translated*. For this reason the study of language will always remain important to the mind of the careful student. The Greek language, however, has received special attention because it bears the New Testament message. "Every word and phrase calls for minute investigation where so much is at stake."¹

In this study a wide variety of passages has been surveyed and the information available on these passages has been boiled down to a minimum. This has been done in order to make the study as practical as possible. These notes are designed to cover a range of materials from the level of the initiate in Greek to that of the more experienced scholar. Although it is the primary aim of this paper to lend help to the teacher and preacher of the Word, it is to be hoped that such a study as this will stimulate those who do not know Greek (and those who are "out-of-date" Greek students) to new ambitions.

1:1. *Called (kletos)*. The Greek *kletos apostolos* might have been rendered *a called apostle*. Paul is *called* an apostle not in the sense that he is *named* an apostle but *summoned* to be an apostle. As all are *summoned* to be saints (vs. 2), so Paul is *summoned* to be an apostle. He was not of the original twelve, but was nevertheless on a par with them because he had been called by God.

1:4. *I thank (eucharisto)*. This is a typical Pauline way of beginning a letter (cf. Rom. 1:8; Phil. 1:3; 1 Thess. 1:2, etc.). J. B. Lightfoot finds the occurrence of *eucharisteo* rare in the classical period.² Deissmann, however, shows that it is not infrequent in Hellenistic correspondence contemporary with Paul and concludes that "St. Paul was therefore adhering to a beautiful secular custom when he so frequently began his letters with thanks to God."³

1:7. *Waiting (apekdechomenous)*. The translation *waiting* (KJV, ASV; RSV = "as you wait") does not give the full force of the

¹A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*. (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), p. 3.

²J. B. Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul*. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), p. 9.

³Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*. Trans. by Lionel R. M. Strachan. (New York: Harper and Brothers, n.d.), p. 181.

word. This *waiting* is an *eager awaiting*⁴ and is significantly used of the Christian hope and its objects. In other words, when it refers to Christ's second coming, only Christians are referred to as *eagerly awaiting it*.⁵

1:8. *Blameless (anegkletous)*. This word is found five times in the N. T., and only in the writings of Paul (1 Cor. 1:8; Col. 1:22; 1 Tim. 3:10; Titus 1:6, 7). It is rendered by the KJV as "unreprovable" and "blameless." The word "blameless" is ambiguous in English and may be taken in one of two senses: it may be "without fault" or it may be understood as "without accusation" brought against one by another. What is the precise meaning of Paul here? It is not always easy to fix with absolute certainty the meaning of a Greek term, especially when other words may be found which have approximately the same meaning. In this case three other words (*amomos*, *amemptos*, *anepileptos*) occur in the N. T. in the general sense of "blameless." These terms, although at times used interchangeably, have distinct meanings.⁶ The term *aneglektos* here in 1:8 denotes not the idea of being free from accusation of someone else, but rather the state of innocence or purity—blamelessness in the sense of being "without blemish." Thus Trench puts it in the same category of *amomos* instead of *amemptos*, that is, "unblemished" instead of "unblamed."⁷ The examples from the papyri cited by Moulton and Milligan confirm *anegkletos* in the sense of "without blemish."⁸ The context of 1:8 makes it clear that Paul is speaking of Christians who are to be "without blemish" in the day of judgment.

1:10. *I beseech (parakalo)*. This word basically means *to call to one's side*, and then to *admonish, encourage, console, entreat, beg*, etc.

1:10. *You speak the same thing (to auto legete)*. J. B. Lightfoot, a master of the classics, has pointed out that this expression is used of political communities which are free from factions, or of different states which are friendly toward each other. He cites such writers as Thucydides⁹ and Aristotle¹⁰ where *to auto legein* means *to be at peace* or *to make up differences*.¹¹ Thus Paul is really encouraging them to get together and make up their differences.

⁴William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 82.

⁵Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁶Cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans. Reprinted in 1948 from ninth edition in 1880), pp. 379-82.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁸James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1939), pp. 40-41.

⁹Thucydides, iv. 20.

¹⁰Aristotle, *Polit.* ii. 3. 3.

¹¹Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, 151.

1:10. *Mind . . . judgment (noi . . . gnome)*. The first of these denotes the state or frame of mind, while the second refers to the judgment or opinion.¹² The former concerns the general principles, the latter the application of the principles.

1:11. *Of Chloe (ton Chloes)*. *Of the household* is implied in the Greek structure, although not expressly stated. Those *of Chloe* could refer either to her children, her relatives, or to her slaves.

1:13. *Into the name of Paul (eis to onoma Paulou)*. This is a part of a series of rhetorical questions asked by Paul. The subject of the whole passage is ownership: some were saying they belonged to Paul, others that they belonged to Peter, and still others that they belonged to Christ. Paul is saying that they do not belong to him because they were not baptized *eis to onoma Paulou*. Moulton and Milligan say that *eis to onoma* frequently occurs in the papyri in reference to payments made "to the account of" someone.¹³ Upon this basis they further remark: "The usage is of interest in connexion with Matt. 28:19, where the meaning would seem to be 'baptized into the possession of the Father.'"¹⁴ This is one illustration of multitudes which demonstrates the vital importance of the papyri in shedding light on the message of the N. T. The papyri also illustrate, however, that caution needs to be taken against maintaining a hard-fast distinction between *eis to onoma* and *en to onoma*. Deissmann has shown how in the papyri *eis to onoma* sometimes has the sense of "in the name of" (*en to onoma*).¹⁵ Context, of course, must be relied upon in making the distinctions.

1:20. *Wise, scribe, disputer (sophos, grammateus, sunzetetes)*. The term *sophos* means wise and probably refers to the Greek philosopher. *Grammateus* (scribe) in Jewish circles points to the well-educated Jew who was supposed to be skilled in the law.¹⁶ Since Greeks and Jews were given to disputing, *sunzetetes* is probably an inclusive term for both. Paul means that the best education of the world, Greek or Jewish, could not overthrow the wisdom of God.

1:21. *Preaching (kerugmatos)*. "Preaching" of the KJV and ASV is not as clear as the RSV's "what we preach." *Kerugmatos* refers to "the thing preached" rather than the manner of preach-

¹²The word *gnome* also means *decision*, which is its usual sense as found in the papyri: "in accordance with the decision (*gnome*) of the council of magistrates" P. Oxy. I. 54¹² (A.D. 316). "I agree of my own free will" (*gnome*) is often found in deeds, contracts, engagements of service, etc. (P. Oxy. I. 135¹⁰, A.D. 572; P. Oxy. 136¹², A.D. 583, etc.)

¹³Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 121; *Bible Studies*, pp. 146ff., 196.

¹⁶*Grammateus* in Gentile usage should be translated as "town-clerk" or "secretary" (cf. Acts 19:35).

ing.¹⁷ This word is related to *kerux*, a *herald*, one who proclaimed the approach of a king, issued an edict or made a public proclamation. The preacher, then, is one who makes public proclamations in behalf of a sovereign.

1:23. *Christ crucified* (*Christon estauromenon*). The rendering "Christ crucified" (KJV, ASV, RSV) would be improved slightly by translating "a crucified Christ." The stress here is not so much on the fact of Jesus' death, but rather the kind of Christ which was preached: a crucified Messiah. To the Jews the idea of a crucified Messiah was self-contradictory and therefore was a "stumbling-block" to them; to the Gentiles the words "a crucified Messiah" were meaningless and thus "foolishness."

2:2. *I determined* (*ekrina*). This should be understood not in the sense of "I absolutely determined" (KJV, ASV), but as the RSV reads: "I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified."

2:6. *Perfect* (*teleiois*). This is Paul's term for the mature or full-grown Christian and it is used by him in contrast to *nepios* (infant) and *paidion* (child). For examples, see 1 Cor. 14:20; Eph. 4:13; Phil. 3:15; Heb. 5:14.

2:7. *Mystery* (*mysterion*). This term is derived from *mueo*, to close, to shut the mouth and thus signifies a thing not spoken to others. In the ancient religions of the Graeco-Roman world, the "mystery religions," the term "mystery" was commonly ascribed to certain secret teachings and rites. It has been held by some scholars, especially those who look to the background of the Gentile world for explanations of the "uniqueness" of Christianity, that the word "mystery" here is used in the same sense as found in the mystery cults. However, the word "mystery" appears in a different sense in the Biblical writings. In the Septuagint of Dan. 2:25 and in the Jewish literature of the inter-testamental period the term denotes a secret purpose or plan of someone, for example, of a military commander or king.¹⁸ It would certainly be better to assume that the term as found in Paul is in agreement with the Jewish use rather than that of the pagan. And this is exactly what the context of 1 Cor. 2:7 demands: not something that is inaccessible to human comprehension, but rather the secret purpose which God had kept to himself prior to the N. T. era but now has made known to men (Rom. 16:25; Col. 1:26, etc.). If the term were to be understood as parallel to its use in the pagan religions, it would be unthinkable

¹⁷The ASV's footnote, "thing preached," is better than its reading in the text. This is too often the case. Often the RSV is an improvement over the ASV simply by following the marginal reading of the ASV.

¹⁸The use of "mystery" in the modern sense of the term (1 Cor. 15:51; Eph. 5:32) is due to the circumstances of the passages under consideration and is not to be taken as derived from the root meaning of the word itself.

that the apostles and prophets could reveal it (Eph. 3:5). In the pagan cults the "mysteries" were not for all, but were only for the fellow-communicants.¹⁹

3:6. *Planted, watered, gave the increase* (*ephuteusa, epotisen euxanen*). The shift of the tense-action is significant here: the first two verbs are Aorists (point action in past time) and the third is Imperfect (linear action in past time). Paul *planted* (point action); Apollos *watered*; but God *was continuing to give the increase* (linear action). God is ever adding to his body, the church.

3:9. *Husbandry, building* (*georgion, oikodome*). These two metaphors are not only significant in themselves, but are important as connectives between the two paragraphs here. The first metaphor looks above to verses 5-8, while the second points below to verses 10-17. In the N. T. *oikodome* (from *oikos*, house, and *dome*, to build) generally means either *building* as a process, *construction* or the result of building, *edifice*. The latter sense fits best in this passage. The term *georgion* is from two common words, *ge*, earth, and *ergon*, work. Thus it means *a cultivated field*. The English word "husbandry" (KJV, ASV) is not a good rendering because: (1) it has several meanings and may be misunderstood, and (2) it is not the equivalent of "cultivated field." The RSV, in agreement with the marginal note of the ASV, has correctly translated the passage: "you are God's field." The figure is indeed a beautiful one and presents the picture of the church as the *field* upon which and through which God gives the increase.

3:10. *Wise masterbuilder* (*sophos architekton*). The English word *architect* is from this word which, although found only here in the N. T., is often employed by the Greek writers. With the Greeks it often meant more than "architect" and included the task of "chief engineer."²¹ Plato speaks of the *architekton* as a "ruler of the workmen."²² The standard translations, however, are justified in "masterbuilder" by the context of 1 Cor. 3. The word *sophos* means *wise*, but in connection with an art or trade is best translated "skillful."²³ The RSV's "skilled master builder" is commendable.

3:16. *Temple of God* (*naos Theou*). It is not necessary to translate so literally as the ASV's "a temple of God." "The temple of God" (KJV) is a possible alternative, although the construction is without the article. In Greek a noun may be definite without the article, especially when conjoined with such constructions as the genitive. The genitive *Theou*, a genitive of possession, limits the

¹⁹Otto A. Piper, "The Mystery of the Kingdom of God," *Interpretation*, I (1947), pp. 186-87.

²⁰Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

²¹Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²²Plato, *Statesman*, 259.

²³Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, p. 767.

noun *naos* and at the same time makes it definite.²⁴ However, the RSV's "God's temple" is probably better since the temple is to be taken in the collective sense as referring to the church. The word *naos* is from the verb *naiein*, to dwell. The Spirit of God dwells within the church.

4:1. *Stewards (oikonomous)*. This term is a common one employed in the papyri for "the manager of an estate."²⁵ The term in itself means *house-manager* (from *oikos*, house, and *nemo*, to manage). Thus the apostles are spoken of as *administrators* of the mysteries of God. The church is the *oikos* (1 Tim. 3:15), the apostles are the *oikonomoi* (4:1), the members are the *oikeioi* (Gal. 6:10; Eph. 2:19) and God as over all is the *oikodespotes* (Matt. 13:52).

4:9. *Last of all, doomed to death, spectacle (eschatous, epithanaticous, theatron)*. This language has as its background the gladiatorial shows of the ancient world. God had exhibited (*apedeixen*, used in a technical sense to refer to gladiatorial combat)²⁶ the apostles as those who were *condemned criminals (epithanaticous)*. As condemned men they were brought out *last of all (eschatous)* to serve as a grand climax of the show and chief sport for the spectators. In this way they were a *theatre (theatron)*, a *spectacle* for all to observe.

4:13. *Filth (perikatharmata)*. The KJV and ASV translate this as *filth*, but it does not mean filth in general. The term is derived from *perikathairo*, to cleanse all around. Thus the noun form stands for *that which is thrown off in cleansing, refuse*. A related form, *katharma*, means the *refuse of a sacrifice*.²⁷ The word *offscouring (peripsema)* in this verse means practically the same thing. It also is from a verb (*peripsao*) which signifies a *scraping around*. Both *perikatharmata* and *peripsema* were words used by the Greeks in description of wretches and vile persons. At Athens it was a custom to throw certain worthless individuals into the sea in times of famine or plague in hope of appeasing the gods. For this reason these criminals were called *katharma*.²⁸ It is a disputed matter whether Paul has this ancient custom in mind, but it is safe to conclude that he chooses these terms in order to convey to the Corinthians the utter disrepute of the apostleship in the eyes of the world. These Greek synonyms are found only here in the N. T.

4:15. *Tutors (paidagogous)*. The term *paidagogos* comes from *pais*, child, and *agogos*, leader, and is the common word for one who is the *guardian* or *attendant* of children. The *pedagogos* was not a

²⁴A similar anarthrous construction is in Matt. 16:18. *Pulai hadou* is considered as definite and translated "the gates of Hades."

²⁵Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

²⁶Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

²⁷Cf. Epictetus iii. 22. 78; also LXX, Prov. 21:9, where *katharma* equals *scapegoat* or *ransom*.

²⁸Cf. Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

teacher, nor were his duties restricted to conducting children to and from school. He was the one, quite often a trusted slave, to whom was committed the general well-being of the child.²⁹ This sense of *paidagogos* is attested to in the papyri.³⁰

5:1. *Actually* (*holos*). The KJV had rendered *holos* as "commonly," but the ASV translated "actually." The latter is probably the correct view, but both meanings of *holos* appear in the papyri.³¹

5:1. *Fornication* (*porneia*). This is a broader term than *moicheia* (adultery) and may refer to every kind of illicit sexual relationship, whether between unmarried or married people.³²

5:10. *Idolaters* (*eidololatrais*). The word *eidololatraes* is derived from *eidolon* (idol) and *latris* (servant, slave) and has as its meaning a *worshiper* or *servant of false gods*. This is its first occurrence in the N. T. The word *eidolon* has an interesting background and illustrates well the development of the meaning of words within a language. Originally *eidolon* signified a *phantom* or *shadow*, something *unreal* as opposed to that which was genuine. In this restricted sense Bacon wrote in his *Novum Organum* of the idols which led men astray. The Septuagint adapted *eidolon* as its translation for false gods in contrast with the true God. In the next stage of development, the word was applied to anything that was a representation of a false god, and thus finally it took on the significance of a material, tangible god—a direct antithesis of its original meaning.

6:1. *Matter* (*pragma*). The word *pragma* is usually translated "matter," but in this passage it is employed by Paul in a technical sense for "lawsuit." In the papyri it is frequently used in that way.³³ The RSV's "grievance" is therefore a better rendering than that of the KJV and ASV.

6:3. *Things that pertain to this life* (*biotika*). The words *biotika* and its related form *bios* are used exclusively in the N. T. in reference to physical life. Another word for *life*, *zoe*, is almost always the equivalent of spiritual life. How inconsistent then for the Corinthian Christians to be judges of angels (vs. 3) and yet unable to act on matters that pertained to this world!

6:15. *God forbid* (*me genoito*). This expression occurs fourteen times in the N. T., thirteen of which are in the writings of Paul. "God forbid" is the translation of the KJV and the ASV, but this rendering can be improved upon. "May it never be" is the idea of

²⁹For a full discussion of the meaning of *paidagogos*, cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892), pp. 148-49; also Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), pp. 89-90.

³⁰Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 447.

³²Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, p. 701.

³³Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

the expression, and of course "God" is not included in the wish. "Never!" is very forceful in the RSV.

· 6:16. *Joined (kollomenos)*. This term is used of the prodigal who "joined himself" to a citizen of a foreign country (Luke 15:15). The verb *kollao* means *to glue, to cement, to fasten together* and thus suggests a strong and binding tie. Moulton and Milligan cite an example from the papyri (P.Lond. 46¹⁵⁷, iv A.D.) of a payment to a certain Aristarchus who had "stuck on" (*kallesanti*) the handle of a cup.³⁴ A related word, *kollema*, is a sheet of two papyrus layers glued together.³⁵

· 7:1. *Touch (haptesthai)*. The normal meaning of this word is "touch," but the English translations do not give full justice to Paul simply by translating "touch." Paul's statement is not directed against mere physical contact with a woman, but rather a physical or sexual relationship with her. The verb *haptomai* is often found in Greek literature in this sense.³⁶

7:2. *Each . . . each (hekastos . . . hekaste)*. This is an emphatic way to forbid polygamy, which was permitted according to many Jewish teachers and practiced freely by the Gentiles.

7:3. *Render (apodidoto)*. The idea here is not rendering in the sense of granting a favor, for in that case another word (*didoto*) would have been used; but this is rendering in the sense of paying a debt (*apodidoto*). In other words, conjugal rights are *due* to both husband and wife. The form of the verb (*apodidoto*) is present imperative: let the husband and the wife *continue to render* to each other what is due. This is to be the normal condition of the husband-wife relationship.

7:5. *Give yourselves (scholasete)*. The English word "school," by way of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin, is derived from this Greek word. The verb *scholazo* originally carried the idea of *having time* or *leisure*, and thus the noun *schole* meant *leisure*. Gradually *scholazo* took the significance of *busying oneself with, giving oneself to, or devoting oneself to*. "School yourselves to" would not be etymologically incorrect, but the RSV's "devote yourselves to" is better English form.

7:9. *Burn (purousthai)*. "It is better to marry than to burn" (ASV) has frequently been misunderstood. Many people have unwittingly thought that "to burn" refers to condemnation. The verb *puroo* does mean "to burn," but simply to translate it as "to burn" here leaves the wrong impression. The verb is employed in this passage in a figurative sense and means to "burn with sexual desire."³⁷ Any translation that fails to show the figurative sense of *puroo* falls short of its duty in conveying the intended message of

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 352.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶Arnda and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 738.

the Greek text. The RSV's rendering is to be complimented for its clarity: "It is better to marry than to be aflame with passion."

7:21. *Care not for it (me soi meleteo)*. The ASV followed the KJV in this verse and rendered: "Wast thou called being a bond-servant? Care not for it." The phrase *me soi meleteo* needs to be translated idiomatically in order to convey the meaning of the Apostle: if a man was converted as a slave, he should not be grieved over his position or status in life. The RSV's "Never mind!" idiomatically expresses the full force of Paul's words.³⁸ The literalistic "care not for it" may be misunderstood: it may be taken in the sense of "do not be content," which is the direct antithesis of the writer.

7:27. *Bound . . . loosed (dedesai . . . lelusai)*. The tense of these verbs is the perfect. The first verb strongly states the permanent nature of the marriage tie: you were bound and are bound. The second verb just as strongly points to the unmarried state.³⁹

7:29. The papyri have brought to light a number of substitutes for the imperative mood in Koine Greek. James Hope Moulton discusses these in the *Prolegomena* of his classic grammar.⁴⁰ One substitute for the imperative is the use of *hina* (that, in order that) with the subjunctive. This passage here is a good illustration of this. The ASV reads: "But this I say, brethren, that the time is shortened, that henceforth both those that have wives may be as though they had none." The RSV, however, translates: "I mean, brethren, that the appointed time has grown very short; from now on, let those who have wives live as though they had none." That the ASV committee missed the exact meaning of the apostle's direction is to be taken as no reflection on the ASV translators, who were scholars in their own right; nevertheless it serves as an ample illustration of the advancement of knowledge furnished by the vast papyri sources in dealing with the Koine Greek.⁴¹

7:35. *Noose (brochon)*. The idea of *brochos* is not a trap or snare (KJV and ASV), but rather a *noose*.⁴² The RSV translates *brochos* well by rendering "restraint." In other words, Paul did not wish to hinder the freedom of the Corinthians, as one might throw a rope over an animal.

9:6. *Working (ergazesthai)*. The verb *ergazomai* is normally

³⁸This is also the rendering of Weymouth, Moffatt, and Goodspeed.

³⁹On the difficult problem of whether *lelusai* must involve a previous marriage, cf. Robertson and Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 153. They maintain that it does not, for they understand *lelusai* to be occasioned by and understood in connection with *lusin*.

⁴⁰James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* Vol. 1. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), pp. 176ff.

⁴¹Other examples of this construction are found in Mark 5:23; 2 Cor. 8:7; Eph. 5:33.

⁴²Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, p. 147. Moulton and Milligan cite examples from the papyri of people hanged by a noose (*brocho*).

translated to *work*. Yet often it is used to refer to *manual labor* or *work for one's livelihood*.⁴³ The RSV's "working for a living" is justified by both Greek usage and context.

9:7. This verse reads: "Who serves as a soldier at his own expense: Who plants a vineyard without eating any of its fruit? Who tends a flock without getting some of the milk?" (ASV). This is part of the well-known argument of Paul that those who preach the gospel should gain their support from the gospel. In behalf of this thesis Paul uses three illustrations: the preacher should be supported in his work just as the one who serves as a soldier (*strateuetai*, to serve as a soldier not to go to war as rendered in the KJV); the preacher should receive support just as a man who plants a vineyard drinks of its fruit; the preacher is due support just as a man who tends a flock drinks of its milk. Thus the gospel preacher is compared to a soldier, a vine-dresser and a shepherd. It is true that the word "pastor" (*poimen*) is not specifically applied in the N. T. to the gospel preacher. However, the related verb-form *poimaino* is used as an illustration of the preacher and his work. Therefore the preacher is a "pastor" or "shepherd" in the limited sense of the word.

11:25: *Covenant* (*diatheke*). The noun *diatheke* is from the verb *diatithemi*, to distribute, to dispose of. It was frequently employed in the disposal of one's property, and as a settlement or agreement was thus made it took on the meaning of agreement or contract. In the Hebrew idiom one cuts a covenant (*carath berith*), which explains the dividing of the victims of sacrifice in connection with ratifying a covenant (Gen. 15:9-18). The Septuagint almost always renders the Hebrew *berith* by the term *diatheke*. Lightfoot maintains that *covenant* is always the meaning of *diatheke* wherever it is found in the N. T., except in Heb. 9:15-17.⁴⁴

There are indeed many other passages from 1 Corinthians that could have been profitably considered in a study of this kind. Take, for example, the beautiful imagery of the Grecian games as it depicts the Christian race (9:24-27); or the abundant figures employed by the apostle in the thirteenth chapter as he describes "the more excellent way" of love; or the grand sweep of ideas in chapter 15 on that which was of first importance (*en protois*) in Paul—all of these, and many more, are overwhelming in their presentation as one fits them in their historical and literary backgrounds. Perhaps these few thoughts will add a little to the resources of each disciple of the kingdom as he brings out of his treasure things new and old.

⁴³Cf. Robertson and Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 182; also Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-07.

⁴⁴Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 141. Some, however, would take exception to Lightfoot's position on Heb. 9:15-17.

The Veils in 1 Cor. 11:2-16

J. W. Roberts

The problem of the relationship of social practices to the morality of the Christian is a constant one. There is perhaps no better illustration of this than the difficulty raised even in modern times by the seemingly prosaic instruction of Paul in the passage about the headdress of women.

Among churches of Christ there have been generally four positions on the application of Paul's instruction to the modern church:

(1) That the covering of 1 Cor. 11:2ff is only the natural covering of the hair and that no artificial covering is involved.¹

(2) That there are two coverings involved and that Paul binds at least one of them—either the hair as a covering or a veil.²

(3) That the requirement laid down by Paul is that of a general requirement of "some sign of authority" which might have been a veil or some other head covering at the time, but which may vary in time and place and which may be satisfied today by, e.g., a hat. It is maintained that the stipulation to have some such covering is continually binding upon churches.³

(4) That the wearing of the veil was a social practice that had by long usage fastened itself upon the people. The violation of this custom placed the woman who was a Christian in an unfavorable light and thus brought the church into disfavor and that this is the reason for Paul's instruction.⁴ This would mean that while the principles behind the instruction—that of the woman's subjection to her husband and the modesty which will not flaunt convention—are universal, the actual proscription based here on the social practice of the day is not applicable today.⁵

¹The writer has in his possession an unpublished MS by a preacher friend in which this position is taken and expounded.

²David Lipscomb, *Queries and Answers* (Nashville, McQuiddy Printing Co., 1912), p. 115. This position is taken by F. W. Grosheide, *The New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1955).

³Compare Guy N. Woods, "An Exposition of 1 Cor. 11:2-16," *The Gospel Broadcast*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Dec. 18, 1941); "Principle or Custom, Which?", *ibid.* Vol. 2, No. 30 (July 23, 1942); Leslie G. Thomas, *Women and Their Veils* (Austin, Texas, Firm Foundation Pub. Co., N. D.), 22 pp.

⁴Compare C. R. Nichol, *God's Woman* (Clifton, Texas, Nichol Pub. Co., 1938), pp. 73ff; R. C. H. Lenski, *An Interpretation of St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians* (Columbus, Wartburg Press, 1946); C. C. Gobbel, "Principle or Custom," *Gospel Broadcast*, Vol. 2, No. 29 (July 16, 1942).

⁵Compare, for example, the following quotation.

"Dress is in a great degree conventional. A custom which would be proper in our country, would be indecorous in another. The principle insisted upon in this paragraph is that women should conform

This paper is intended to be an exposition and a defense of the last of the above positions. The writer does not feel himself committed to all the arguments and positions of those who have shared this view of the passage but feels that it best sums up the teaching of the section.

The Context

The passage in question constitutes a part of one of the main divisions of the 1 Corinthian epistle. The general theme of this division is the Disorders in Public Worship. This division is divided in turn into three sections: (1) The Veiling of Women (11:2-16); (2) Disorders Connected With the Lord's Supper (11:17-34); (3) Disorders With Regard to Spiritual Gifts (12:1-14, 40).⁶ The whole section may well have been brought about (like the section on Marriage in chapter 7 and the Eating of Meats in chapter 8) by the letter of inquiry which the Corinthians had written to Paul (Cf. 7:1, etc.).

Methodology

The method followed in this paper will be to combine the linguistic, philological, and historical information pertinent to each point in much the same way as most critical commentaries do, commenting verse by verse and then drawing the proper conclusions based upon this information at the end.

Translation of the Passage

The following is the translation of the passage in the American Standard Edition of the Revised Version:

2 Now I praise you that ye remember me in all things, and hold fast the traditions, even as I delivered them to you. 3 But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God. 4 Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoreth his head. 5 But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoreth her head; for it is one and the same thing as if she were shaven. 6 For if a

in matters of dress to all those usages which public sentiment of the community in which they live demands. The veil of all Eastern countries was, and to a great extent still is, the symbol of modesty and subjection. For a woman, therefore, in Corinth to discard the veil, was to renounce her claim to modesty, and to refuse to recognize her subordination to her husband. It is on the assumption of this significance in the use of the veil that the apostle's whole argument in this paragraph is founded." Charles Hodge, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Reprint, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1953).

⁶This obvious analysis of the text follows that of Archibald Robinson and Alfred Plummer in the *International Critical Commentary* (N. Y., Scribner's, 1911), p. 226. The same analysis is made by R. St. John Parry in the *Cambridge Greek Testament* (Cambridge, University Press, 1926), *in loco*.

woman is not veiled, let her also be shorn; but if it is a shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be veiled. 7 For a man indeed ought not to have his head veiled, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man. 8 For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man; 9 for neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man: 10 for this cause ought the woman to have a *sign* of authority on her head, because of the angels. 11 Nevertheless, neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord. 12 For as the woman is of the man, so is the man also by the woman; but all things are of God. 13 Judge ye^a in yourselves: is it seemly that a woman pray unto God unveiled? 14 Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a dishonor to him? 15 But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering. 16 But if any man seemeth to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God.

^aOr, *among*.

Exposition

Verse 2. *Ye remember me*. Paul begins the section with praise. The Corinthians had a general reputation for submission to the apostolic directions of their founder. In verse 17 Paul will find matters in which he cannot praise them; this suggests, as Lenski says, that there had as yet been no open violations of the practice to be discussed. More likely the question had been raised (in the letter?) and Paul explains the reasons behind the general agreement among all the churches (v. 16). The *traditions* are deliverances of instruction handed down either by word of mouth or by the writing of inspired men. This is not "tradition" in the wrong sense of the traditions of men (Matt. 15:3, 6 etc.). The inspired instructions of authority were received not as the commandments of men but of God (1 Cor. 15:3; 1 Thess 2:15; Rev. 22:18).

In the first section (vv. 3-6) the problem is introduced by the statement of the subordination of woman to the husband in the divine economy and the deduction that unveiling of the woman is contrary to that subordination because it was unwomanly.

Verse 3. *The head of every man is Christ*. The principle is stated before the problem. *Head* denotes "superior rank."⁷ "Of every man" (*pantos andros*) is distributive: all men are subject to the authority of Jesus Christ, even those who are in rebellion to his will, as they will be judged by his word. The "husband" ("man," *aner*) is head (no article, not absolutely the head, the only head) also of the *wife* (*gune*). *God is the head of Christ* as regards the Son's mediatorial work. The Son, on "equality with" the Father, emptied himself (Phil. 2:7; John 14:28). In all these passages we have a sequence of rank, a head and a subject who acknowledges the su-

⁷William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. (Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1957). Art: *Kephales*.

periority of that head. Paul now proceeds to show that violations of social practices which are based upon the headship of the man are improper for a woman who is a Christian because in the popular mind they amount also to a rejection of that headship. This introduces the matter to be discussed: the veiling of the head in worship.

Verse 4. *Every man praying or prophesying with a veil on.* The Greek is elliptical; *kata kephales exhon*, literally, "having (sc. *kalumma*, 'a veil') down from his head." Findlay is certainly right in his contention that *kalumma* ("a veil") is the word understood.⁸ Some writers would understand *himation* ("a garment").⁹ Others would insert the neuter indefinite pronoun "something" (*ti*).¹⁰ But these are too indefinite to fit the context which has "unveiled" (*akatakalupto*¹¹) in apposition and follows with *katakaluptetai* ("veils herself" v. 6) and *katakaluptestho* ("let her veil herself"¹²). Certainly Paul intended the word in ellipsis to be understood from the context. For the meaning of these words see below. Parallels are to be found. Compare the LXX, Esther 6:12 where *lupoumenos kata kephales* (lit. "being sorrowful down from the head") by a similar ellipsis means "being veiled for sorrow."¹³ Compare for analogy *katecheen kata tes kephales* ("poured it down from his head") Mark 14:3

The participles "praying" and "prophesying" express circumstantial ideas, probably conditional in sense, equalling "if he prays or prophesies." These participles would then equal potential hypotheses, *ean* with the subjunctive. Paul means that if a man *should* do these things with a veil on (not that any had done so), he would thereby signify that he had a human superior and *shame* or dishonor Christ who is his only spiritual superior. Note that the condition of that shame is a veil—not a mere head covering. It ought to be

⁸G. G. Findlay, *Expositor's Greek Testament* (1 Corinthians) (N. Y., Doran, n.d.). Also A. T. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament*. (N. Y., Harper's, 1931).

⁹Compare Plutarch: "He walks having a garment down from his head" (*kata kephales exhon himation*) *Morals*, 220 F (Parry); also the use of a mummy "having a label down from the neck" (*exhon tablan kata tou trachilou*) Wilcken, *Chrest.* 499.5, cited from Arndt and Gingrich.

¹⁰e.g., Lenski, *op. cit.* and Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.* The latter observe that the something in the case of 1 Cor. 11:4 is a veil.

¹¹The meaning is illustrated from Polybius who uses it of a woman who was humbled by being dragged from her house and down the street unveiled (*akatakalumenen*) before being cast into prison. (15. 27.2).

¹²The verb is to be translated as middle, as of something done to oneself, actions of a personal nature, especially of the toilet, being thus expressed.

¹³The Hebrew has "sorrowing and covering (his) head." The verb in Hebrew is "to cover, to veil; as the head, 2 Sam. 15:30; Jer. 44:4; the face, Esth. 6:12; 7:8." Gesenius.

apparent that for a man to appear in public with a veil would be womanish and shame man's head, but that this would not be true of a mere head covering, i.e., a hat or turban. The Greeks had a word for hat or cap (*pilos*) and the verb used with it is usually *phero* and not *katakalupto*. If Paul had meant the wearing of a hat, he could certainly have said so. This is important for our considerations.

Verse 5. *Every woman praying or prophesying . . .* This verse creates a difficulty as regards the locale of its meaning. Though this difficulty is great and deserves some discussion, it does not affect the main problem. Some say Paul must have only supposed a case which could never in fact happen because Paul in 1 Cor. 14:34 and 1 Tim. 2:8¹⁴ forbids a woman's ever praying or prophesying in the assembly. It is thought then that Paul here merely shows that their forwardness in dress is wrong, while in 1 Cor. 14:34 he shows that they would also be out of place in the exercise of their gifts in the assembly. Inasmuch as it is known from Acts 2:18 and 21:9 that women did prophesy, it is supposed that the action takes place not in the assembly but in family devotions or in private groups.¹⁵ Others assume that a distinction is to be made in an assembly of the whole church (1 Cor. 14:23) and a smaller meeting of the church in a home as in 1 Cor. 16:19.¹⁶ Still others think women were permitted to teach but that 1 Cor. 14 refers to a special meeting of the church for the exercise of spiritual gifts, a type of service no longer held and at which alone women were especially excluded.¹⁷ This last idea seems out of harmony with Paul's instruction in 1 Tim. 2. Moffatt¹⁸ suggests just the opposite—that when a woman was under the influence of the Holy Spirit (both prayer and prophecy are so interpreted, 1 Cor. 14:14f) she was in her place, but the *lalein* ("to speak," 14:34) refers to the non-inspired discourses and discussions from which the woman was excluded. In these matters, if she would learn, she must ask her husband at home. The best solution

¹⁴By the use of the specific word *aner* (1 Tim. 2:8) for man, i.e., the husband or male. 1 Tim. 3:15 possibly shows that the context for chapter 2 is the assembly. "In every place" (2:8) means wherever the church meets, rather than "in home, church, market, and all."

¹⁵"The propriety of woman's praying or prophesying in the church is here passed over without comment since he is only treating of apparel, while it is rebuked and interdicted in 14:34ff." G. H. Kling in Lange's *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* (N. Y., Scribner's, 1896).

¹⁶"Silence is imposed on women in 1 Cor. 14:34, but *there* in the full congregation; here in the less formal meetings for devotion, e.g., a church held in a house, 16:19, they are allowed to pray aloud and utter inspirational discourses. There is no contradiction." (*Speaker's Commentary* quoted in Lange's).

¹⁷Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 135ff.

¹⁸James Moffatt, *The Moffatt New Testament Commentary*, Commentary on 1 Corinthians (N. Y., Doran, N. D.).

on the whole seems to be that of Lenski who says "by omitting reference to a place Paul says, 'Wherever and whenever it is proper and right for a man or for a woman to pray or prophesy, the difference of sex should be marked as I indicate'."¹⁹ Whatever the solution of this difficulty, it has little bearing on the veil since the instruction about wearing the veil is admitted by all to rest upon the custom of the woman's not appearing out of the privacy of the home without a veil.

With unveiled head. The great question is what was the custom of veiling and to what extent it was current in all parts of the empire at this time? The kaleidoscopic views granted by the original sources do not permit dogmatic conclusions. There has been much contradiction in the claims of the commentaries about the practices of head covering and veiling among different peoples in ancient times. It is claimed that Jewish and Roman women veiled themselves in public, but not the Greeks. Again it is claimed that they did not do so in public generally, but only in worship. It is again claimed the regulations of Paul in 1 Cor. 11 are not based upon these customs but are contradictory of them, in proof of which it is asserted that Jewish men covered their heads in worship with tallith or prayer cloth. Others claim that Roman, Greek, and Jewish women all generally were veiled in public in the presence of men. What does the evidence confirm?

A. *The Jewish Men.* That Jewish men usually wore hats or turbans²⁰ when going outside but were free to choose except in Babylon, where the wearing of a hat was considered a sign of a married man.²¹ That the men at this time did not use a tallith or head covering in worship is definitely proved by the same sources.²² Lenski quotes Maimonides to prove that Jewish men of N. T. times wore the prayer cloth.²³ But Maimonides lived in the 12-13th century (1135-1204). Strack and Billerbeck have amassed the evidence to prove that the tallith custom arose out of the Old Testament references to mourning and ostracism and came into practice in the fourth century A.D. and not in the first. The question may be con-

¹⁹Lenski, *op. cit.*, Comment *in loco*.

²⁰Early Jews wore a cord tied around the head (1 Kings 20:31). At a later time a headdress like the turban worn by the fellahin was adopted. This was a piece of cotton folded twice or three times and worked into the form of a small cap. The later turban consisted of a felt cap about which is wound a piece of cloth. This turban (*tsaniph*) is the "hood" of Isa. 3:2, "diadem" Job 29:14. For the act of putting this on the term *habhash* (Ezek. 16:10; Ex. 29:9; Lev. 8:13; Jonah 2:6). For men the wearing of a veil meant sorrow (2 Sam. 15:30; 19:4; Jer. 14:3).

²¹H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*. (Muenchen, C. H. Beck, 1922). Vol. III, p. 423ff.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 424f.

²³*Op. cit.*

sidered as settled. This conclusion had been reached by Robertson and Plummer (*Ibid.*) and Conybeare and Howson in their great work on Paul earlier.

B. *The Jewish women.* The evidence for forced veiling of women in the O. T. is uncertain. At times it appears the women went forth without a covering (Gen. 12:14; 24:16, 65; 1 Sam. 1:12). But these passages are obscure. The bride definitely was veiled at the approach to her husband (Gen. 24:65; 38:14, 19, 25); hence Jacob did not recognize that he had taken Leah until later (Gen. 29:23, 25). But veils are spoken of in other connections as a part of the dress of women (Ruth 3:15; Isa. 3:16, 22f; Song of Sol. 5:7)²⁴ Uncertain also is the connection with the harlot. Some traditionally identifying attire was worn (Prov. 7:10) and this is interpreted by some as a veil representative of a temple prostitute in the service of Ishtar the veiled goddess (See L. P. Smith in *Interpreter's Bible*²⁵ on Gen. 38:15). Some would even see the custom of the veiling of the wife at marriage as growing out of this background—a fertility motif,²⁶ a connection which would seem to require more proof before acceptance. It does not seem proved that Tamar veiled herself (Gen. 38:15) to pass as a harlot. It may well have been for concealment, for without the veil the father-in-law would have certainly recognized her. That the veil was the mark of the harlot doesn't seem to be proved. Whatever the teaching of the O. T. was, in N. T. times women definitely found the veil proscribed and the practice was unvarying.²⁷

The Roman and Greek Women. Here especially the sources do

²⁴Several words are involved: (1) *mitpahoth*, Ruth 3:15; Isa. 3:22. The targum translation means wither "turban" or long scarf from which the turban was wound. Used of the false prophet's magical veil or kerchief (Ezek. 13:18, 21). (2) *ca'iph*, Gen. 24:65; 38:14, 19, 25. This seems to have been a square piece of cloth used as a covering. (3) *radid*, Song of Sol. 5:7; Isa. 3:23. (4) *ra'al*, Isa. 3:19 "mufflers" consisted of double pieces one of which began over the eyes and was carried backward over the head falling on the neck, while the other began under the eyes and hung down over the breast. (5) Moses' veil (Ex. 34:33-35) was the *masveh* akin according to some to *suth* (Gen. 49:11). (6) *tzammah*, translated "veil" or "locks" (Song of Sol. 4:1-3; Isa. 47:2).

The Greek words involved in the LXX are summarized: *theristron*, Gen. 24:65; 38:14, 19; Song of Sol. 5:7; Isa. 3:23; *perizoma*, Ruth 3:15; Isa. 3:22; also Gen. 3:7; Prov. 31:24; Jer. 13:1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11; *Kalumma*, Gen. 34:33-35 otherwise usually of the veil of the tent of meeting.

²⁵Vol. 1 (N. Y., Abingdon, 1952).

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Strack and Billerbeck, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 427ff.

not permit dogmatic conclusions.²⁸ However the evidence is that Paul was basing his instructions on the general practice of women in the Graeco-Roman world to wear a veil in public.

According to Plutarch the Roman rule was that "usually women cover their heads (*egkekalummenais*) and the men uncover them, when they go outside the house."²⁹ Valerius Maximum asserted that one of the first causes of divorce was a wife's appearing outside bareheaded.³⁰ Servius, however, says that there was an exception in worship itself where both men and women uncovered their heads.³¹

In Greek writers *katakalypto* from the earliest times occurs in the sense of veiling.³² The veil is common attire for Greek women from early times. Helen shows herself to Paris with the characteristic open bodice but with head veiled. In Authenrith's *Homeric Dictionary*³³ (cuts 2, 44, 62, 70) women are pictured in the early attire with a veil (*kalumma* or *kaluptre*) hanging from the head back in a way so as to be easily pulled down over the front of the face. Tarsus, the home of Saul, was said to be especially strict in the matter of the women's veil.³⁴ The passage from Polybius already quoted (See fn. 11) and the frequently cited grave inscription from Ceos (5th Century B.C.)³⁵ bear both on the practice and the meaning of the words. The Shepherd of Hermas sees a vision of a woman adorned as if coming from the bridal chamber "veiled even unto the face" (*katakekalummenē eos tou metopou*) and recognizes her as the woman typical of the church.

The Early Church. The unknown author of the early Christian document *Acts of Thomas* (v. 56) indicates the attitude of the early church when the visitor to hell is shown the following picture:

²⁸Passages are collected in Grotius and Wetstein and in a more modern work (according to Kittel's) in G. Dellings *Paulus' Stellung zu Frau und Ehe* (1931, pp. 96-109), a source not available to this writer at present. The discussion in Kittel's *Woerterbuch (Theologisches Woerterbuch Neuen Testament)* (Stuttgart, W. Hohlhammer, 1932+) is by Albrecht Oepke, Vol. 3, pp. 563ff.

²⁹14. 11. 267a.

³⁰6. 3. 10.

³¹According to Alford.

³²Compare the references in Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 9th Ed., 1940). The verb in the middle means to veil the face. Figurative uses are frequent, but in mention of dress the word would have the ordinary meaning.

³³Georg Authenrith, *A Homeric Dictionary*. Tr. by R. P. Keep. (N. Y., Harper's, 1896).

³⁴According to Dio of Prusa, *Tarsica Prior*, 48. The reference is cited in several works.

³⁵W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 2nd. Ed. (Leipzig, 1888-1901), 877, 11. Compare footnote 11. Add the reference in Liddell-Scott (9th Ed.) from the *Odyssea* (8.92), *katakrata kalupsamenos goasken*, "He groaned covering his head" which alternates in the preceding with his great coat being used to cover his head so as to hide the face.

And they that hang by the hair are the unblushing ones who had no modesty and went about in the world bare-headed.³⁶

Tertullian documents the practice of veiling in North Africa at the end of the 2nd century. He also reminds us that in his day the veiling continued at Corinth and that unmarried women were included (*Veiling of Virgins*, Ch. 8).

This is but a sampling, but it combines to indicate that Paul in our passage is reacting to the public appearance of women unveiled as an "innovation," "an undesirable departure from social etiquette, since only women of loose character appeared in public bareheaded."³⁷

Albrecht Oepke³⁸ hesitates to agree with this conclusion from the evidence. Yet his arguments in this instance are based partly from silence,³⁹ partly on a passage the grammar of which is disputed,⁴⁰ and partly on statements drawn from lands remote from the scene of concern (i.e., North Africa). Arguments are also drawn from portraiture, but this would be of as little value in ascertaining public dress as would posed photography of modern times. On the whole it seems that Moffatt is right in his conclusion that taking off the veil was an innovation in social etiquette.

Shames her own head. Taking up the thread of comment again, we find that Paul says that the woman who prays or prophesies unveiled shames her own head. To shame is to act disrespectfully toward. The manuscripts vary between "her head" (her husband probably of verse 3) or "her own head (*heantes*, probably her literal head). The latter (probably the better reading) would mean that the dishonor done to the husband falls also on her. The shame is on her head because that is the part of her on which the indecency is manifested. That the shame does fall on her is shown by the following verse. The reason is that the unveiled head in such appearance is *one and the same thing with the woman* who shaves or shears herself. The idea is either that of dishonor, a token of shamelessness because this was a mode of punishing a sinful woman (Num. 5:18 etc.), or because this was the mark of the harlot's trade either through custom or because she was compelled to cut the hair like a man. Paul's use of the logical hypothesis im-

³⁶See M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 391).

³⁷Moffatt, *op. cit.*

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 564.

³⁹The veil is missing from a certain list of womanly attire.

⁴⁰The Lykosuran inscription (Dittenberger, *ibid.*, 939.9f) reads *mede tas trichas ampeplegmenas, mede kekalummenos*. Leonardos understands the first prohibition as applying to women and would construe "men" with the masculine participle forbidding veiling. Oepke acknowledges that this is grammatically correct, but thinks it is unlikely in the context. He would find in it a prohibition of veiling to the women.

plies the fact that such cropping of the hair was shameful and this is made the basis of the imperative: "Let her be shorn." The argument is one of consistency. If the woman refuses to be veiled, let her act consistently masculine and cut her hair like a man; but, since this alternative would be instinctively refused by the honorable woman, the conclusion is that the social etiquette which refused the one also refused the other, so "Let her be veiled."

Verses 5-6 are decisive that in the first part of the discussion it is impossible to take "veiling" or "covering" as the hair itself. These verses distinguish between the "unveiled head" and "a shearing or shaving" of the hair, indicating that it would be possible to be unveiled and still have the natural hair uncut. Woods further points out that the two veilings are in antithesis: What the woman must have as a covering the man must not have. If the hair is the only covering, only men with bald or shaved heads could pray or prophesy.⁴¹

Verses 7-12 constitute the second division of the passage. Verse 3 has stated the ground of the headship of man as reflected in the social practice as the ground of veiling the woman. In verses 5-6 he has shown that by common consent shame is involved in the unveiling of the woman in the general mind. He now proceeds to argue that the headship is supported by the original creation of man as suggested in Gen. 1:26-27. The *men . . . de* construction suggests antithesis: a man *on the one hand* "ought not to be veiled" being constituted as the *glory and image of God*, but the *woman is the glory of the man*. "Ought not" does not mean "is not obliged" but rather "is bound not to"; it is unfit; by natural constitution out of place. "Glory" here means that which honors and magnifies God. This man does directly. Woman honors and magnifies the husband. Grosheide says, "Man shows how beautiful a creature God could create, which makes him the crown of creation, the glory of God. A woman, on the other hand, reveals how beautiful a being God could create from man." Thus the subordination which etiquette decreed conformed to the original difference of the sexes. This placed an obligation on the man and woman not to disregard the practice in such a way as to imply that that difference was wrong.

Verse 9. *The woman was created on account of man*. This gives a second ground for the fitness of the instruction: the end view of woman's creation. She was created for man, to help him and not the reverse.

Verse 10. This is one of the most difficult verses. *For this cause (Dia toutu) ought (opheilei) the woman to have exousian* ("A Sign of authority" ASV, "power" KJV, "veil" Margin: "Greek authority, the veil being a symbol of this" RSV) *upon her head on account of the angels*. Perhaps it is best to dispose of the latter part of the

⁴¹Woods, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Dec. 18, 1941, p. 205f.

verse first. This verse continues the same subject of its immediate context; i.e., that the use of the veil is an indication of woman's relation to man. This is quite plain. The verse is connected with the foregoing statement on that point by the causal phrase (*dia touto*). It is further connected by the particle *plen* "only" "nevertheless" (AV, RSV) with the following discussion which deals with the same relation by guarding against a misapplication of the principle of woman's subordination (i.e., a mistreatment of woman as inferior). Both connections tie verse 10 to the context as mentioned. The change of subject does not occur until verse 13. Consequently what "on account of the angels" means is to be referred to this context and not to the fanciful theories of women covering their heads to hide from the lustful glances of bad angels, etc. The logical meaning from its connection is that conduct of women in appearing without the veil and thus seeming to disregard the respect due their husbands would shock the angels viewed perhaps as present at the meetings in question.

The word *exousian* ("power" etc.) has given rise to a variety of interpretations: (1) That the veil is a metonymy for the power of the husband, thus naming the thing itself for which it stands instead of the symbol. Though this is an accepted translation, it has much against it. The idea is scorned by Sir William Ramsay, who says that it would then mean subjection and not power.⁴² Parry agrees that this is "a scarcely possible rendering of *exousian exhein*."⁴³ Plummer and Robertson say that the idea that the meaning is that of the veil's symbolizing man's power over her "can scarcely be the true idea," that this would demand "subjection" (*hypotage*). This would make Paul say the exact opposite of what he is expected to say. No exact parallels of this objective interpretation of the metonymy seems to have been found.

(2) That the veil upon her head is the symbol of the power which the woman has over her own head, the right translation being, "ought to have dominion (or power) on her head." Here it is the woman's own authority "exercised over her head by veiling it" that is meant. In so veiling her head she not only acknowledges her husband's authority, veiling herself to all but her husband, but at the same time she makes possible her own movement and action with freedom. If she removes the veil, she removes that power of action by inviting molestation. Ramsay points out that this accords with the customs of eastern countries even today where the veil is this kind of a "power." Even if the Eastern veiling as we know it today is more stringent than that of N. T. times, this does not change the probability that this is the correct interpretation.

⁴²Sir William Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* (Grand Rapids, Baker Co., Reprint, 1949), pp. 203ff.

⁴³Parry, *op. cit.*

Grosheide in his excellent commentary⁴⁴ maintains that Paul uses the term in the same meaning as the other occurrences in 1 Cor. where it means the right or freedom to act,⁴⁵ designating here her liberty as a Christian to pray or prophesy. The idea is that as this veil serves as an ornament to the woman, designating her as a woman, it gives her the right to approach God in these ways so long as she keeps that which so designates her. If she acted shamefully and brazenly by imitating a man and left off the veil, her right to take part in the prayer and prophecy would be forfeited. Because this designation of herself as a woman implies her place under her husband, *she is obliged* to pray or prophesy (as she must do all other public acts) with that designation (the veil) on her head.

This meaning agrees with the other Biblical uses of *echein exousian*, which are all subjective: "have power over the water" (Rev. 11:6), "over fire" (Rev. 14:18; 20:6) and is analogous with Mark 10:1; Rom. 9:21; 1 Cor. 7:37, etc. This subjective meaning agrees also with the analogies cited from other sources. Kling (Lange's) cites a passage in which *baseleian* ("kingdom") is used for "crown" worn on the head, "having three kingdoms upon the head" (Dioder. Sic. 1:47). Wordsworth cited LXX (Ezek. 7:27): *archon enusetai aronismos*, "the ruler will put on the (token of) desolation." Also consider Numbers 6:7, *euche theou epi tes kephales*, "a vow (i.e., the long hair as the symbol of the vow) upon the head." This view commends itself to this writer. It should be noted, however, that it is fatal to the position of the hat as a modern replacement for the veil, inasmuch as that position depends upon an objective meaning of "a sign (some sign, any sign) of the (husband's) power over her."

(3) A third meaning suggested is that the word *exousian* itself means "veil." Several attempts have been made to find in the noun *exousia* (or a word replacing it) the meaning "veil." First there is a reading in a few MSS and quotations of *kalumma* ("veil") instead of *exousia*.⁴⁶ Second, some would amend the text to make *exousian* read *exiousian* ("going out"—a fem. participle) so that the translation would be "she ought to have (sc. a veil) upon her head when she goes out." This is an ingenious but valueless suggestion. A more serious attempt is put forth by Gerhard Kittel in his work on the *Religious History of Early Christianity* in which he supposes that *exousia* is the literal translation of the Aramaic

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, in loco.

⁴⁵1 Cor. 7:37; 8:9; 9:4, 5, 6, 12, 18; Cf. Rom. 9:21; Rev. 22:14. For the whole discussion see W. Foerster, *Theologisches Woerterbuch*, II, pp. 559-71.

⁴⁶According to Nestle's text: the old Latin (c); the Sextina Vulgate; Valentinus according to Irenaeus, Jerome, and Augustine; a "noteworthy rejected reading" in the small edition of Westcott-Hort; also the Armenian is said to read "shade" or "covering" and the Aetheopic "head should be veiled."

shiltonayya(h) which according to a tractate of the Talmud (y. Sabb. VI. 8b bot.) signified a veil or head-band. The word is thought to have been rendered *exousia* in the supposition that the stem *shlt* is connected with *shalat* which means "to have power," so that we should read "veil" in the English.⁴⁷ Again this is ingenious and somewhat plausible, but it would hardly be understood by Paul's Greek readers. Still others have supposed in a similar way that the word *exousia* meaning veil arose from the fact that the Hebrew word for veil, *radid*, literally meant a power, coming from the verb *radad* which meant to have power. It is a coincidence that the terms are so allied, but may be nothing more.

One is thankful that among the meanings thus discussed he does not have to make a definite choice in order of the exegesis to make sense. Whatever *exousia* means here, there is general agreement that Paul is referring, either by metonymy or directly, to the veil and saying that because of the angels the woman is obliged to have the veil on in the circumstances under discussion.⁴⁸

It is quite clear that the practice is untenable of lifting this passage from its context and making it mean merely *some* sign, so that just any covering (as changing fashions dictate) is to be worn. If the reading "sign of authority" be adopted as the translation, the connection must be observed and one must understand the sign under discussion. It must be a covering which has the significance which the one here being urged had. If it be argued that men have changed the significance without authority to do so (as an immersionist believes they have done for baptism) and that we must go back to that significance, then it must be insisted that we must not substitute for what was here being demanded—that women wear a veil "down from their head."

Verses 11-12. *Nevertheless neither the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman in the Lord.* This verse is a corrective of any tendency that there might have been to make wrong use of Paul's position on the subjection of woman to man. Paul's point is that as Christians view such things each is essential to the other.

Verse 13. Here begins the new section in which Paul attempts to support the position which he has set forth by independent reasoning. First Paul appeals to the intuitive judgments of the mind. These (as Hodge says) Paul had appealed to before as authoritative (Rom. 1:32 etc.). Such judgments taken as a whole might be de-

⁴⁷See reference in Foerster, *ibid.* Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud*, treats this word *shiltonayya(h)* as a textual corruption for *silbonayya(h)*, "braided bands worn in the hair" which is from *shelabh*, "to join, fit in." The supposition is that the dialectical form of this word (*slbh*) has become confused with the verb *shalat*, "to rule" (s for sh; bh for t).

⁴⁸So Alford, "shown by the context to mean a veil."

fended on the grounds that our natures are derived from God and that the feelings impressed upon us by them are usually reliable.

Verse 14. *Doth not nature herself teach you?*⁴⁹ Two possibilities are suggested. First that *phusis* ("nature") means the natural endowment of women who are usually given a more profuse growth of hair than men.⁵⁰ The other is that Paul is appealing to the general habit and custom of men. This meaning of *phusis* is a common one (See Thayer). The latter meaning is adopted by Grosheide and others. The fact that Paul goes on to reason from *kome* or the kind of hair and describes this as the glory of the woman indicates that the first sense is the proper one. *If a man have long hair.* At this period civilized men did not wear their natural hair (*thrix*) long, nor did they embellish it with the womanly additions (fillets, bag-nets, circlets and false hair) which seem implied in the word *kome* (the word for "long hair" in these verses). Rather they usually shaved or cropped their heads as implied in verses 5-6.⁵¹ Moffatt indeed says that the practice was not universal, there being some exceptions as in the case of philosophers. But Robertson and Plummer are right when they say that these were exceptional or temporary cases (like the English Cavaliers) and that they do not affect the argument.⁵² *But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory.* See above on the distinction between the natural and the adorned hair. Such wearing of the hair was a glory or ornament to a woman, but a dishonor (*atimia*) to a man. Such wearing of the hair is a woman's right,⁵³ being *given to her as a covering* (*anti peribolaion*).

The last phrase is susceptible of two interpretations. *Anti* ("for") can have the meaning "instead of" or "as a substitute for" (Matt. 2:22; Luke 11:11; Heb. 12:2), in which case (as Grosheide, *Ibid.*) Paul is saying that the woman may substitute for the veil of the

⁴⁹A question introduced by *oute* expects an affirmative answer.

⁵⁰So Robertson and Plummer, *ibid.*

⁵¹Cf. McGarvey on Acts 18:18 (*New Commentary on Acts*, Cincinnati, Standard, 1892). The earlier Greeks had worn long hair, Homer, *Il.* 2:474, 542. But after the defeat of the Greeks in one of the battles of the Persian wars Herodotus says, "Ever after this the Argives, who before had worn their hair long by fixed custom, shaved their heads making a law with a curse added thereto that no Argive should grow his hair. (1.82.7). Cf. also Plutarch (*Mor.* 267b), "long hair does not become men" (*arsesin ouk epeoike koman*).

⁵²Chrysostom explained it the same way (Homily on 1 Cor. 11). Robertson and Plummer say: "They were temporary because nature taught men otherwise. For men to wear their hair long, and for women to wear it short, for men to veil their heads in public assemblies and for women not to do so, were alike attempts of obliterate natural distinctions. In the catacombs the men are represented with short hair."

⁵³*dedotai*, cf. Matt. 13:11 etc. of that which is bestowed by right on one. (Grosheide, *op. cit.*) also "is given" possibly may refer to the natural endowment of hair. Robertson and Plummer.

previous verses the wearing of the characteristically womanly long hair-do.

The other meaning is that of something of equal value, answering to something else but not necessarily substituting for it.⁵⁴ If this is the meaning, Paul is saying that the *kome* ("long hair") is given to her "in the nature of a covering, to match it." The argument would then be that since nature has bestowed a veil of one type upon the woman as her natural right, then it follows that the artificial one which has been insisted on is thus shown to be an honor. The latter meaning seems the better one. In the last verse under either interpretation the veil of Paul's discussion is referred to as a mantle, an envelopment—a word which might well apply to the large veils in use.

Verse 16. *If any be contentious—no such custom.* Since the time of Chrysostom the majority interpretation has been that the meaning of this is that though some might be contentious and raise trouble over the wearing of the veil, it was not the custom of either the apostles or the churches to contend and dispute over the veil. This most likely would mean that when an apostle had spoken and the universal practice had been ascertained, it would be wrong to contend against that. The emphatic pronoun *hemeis* naturally favors this meaning (Cf. Meyer's). The other possible meaning is that the apostle and the churches have no such custom as allowing women to appear unveiled, though some might be contentious. It matters little as far as the meaning goes. The idea, on the other hand, that Paul means that the wearing of the veil is not really customary and might be disregarded if it was the cause of contention,⁵⁵ is not worthy of serious consideration as it contradicts the whole passage.

Summary

The following observations seem justified in the light of the above discussion:

1. That Paul was primarily concerned with the acknowledgment of and conformity to God's ordained order of woman's subjection to her husband.
2. That the question had been raised as to whether a woman when prophesying or praying could dispense with a veil.
3. That Paul's answer was in effect that since in the time in which he wrote for a woman to appear without a veil was equivalent to her shaving or cropping her hair like a man and that since this was admittedly a shameful practice she must not leave off the veil.
4. That Paul speaks here not merely of the hair as a veil, nor

⁵⁴E.g., Matt. 5:38; Rom. 12:17; 1 Peter 3:9.

⁵⁵"I have given you the reasons that women should remain covered. If any is contentious and wants to do it anyway, I remind you that it is not the custom in any church to appear without the veil." C. H. Irwin, *Bible Commentary* (Philadelphia, Winston Co., 1928).

again of a mere indefinite "covering," but of the veil or peplum of that day.

5. That the wearing of that veil in public by women, according to our best sources, agreed with the general social custom of the day among Hebrews, Romans, and Greeks.

6. That Paul supported his instruction for women to abide by the custom with arguments drawn from the facts (e) that woman is the glory of man, and (b) that she is made for him, and (c) that she ought to have the veil on her head to show her right or power within her sphere of subjection, (d) that the natural abundance of women's hair argued for the fitness of the veil, being given as a sort of natural veil to her, and (e) that the churches of Christ as a whole observed the veiling custom just as Paul instructed in this instance.

Present-Day Application

It is difficult for this writer to see any relevance of the modern woman's hat to this passage. Throughout the passage the significance of the instruction grows out of the meaning of the veil and the meaning of the woman's being veiled and not being veiled. In a society where being unveiled is not "one and the same thing" with being shorn or shaved, it would seem that the command, "let her veil herself" would not be binding. Where else would a conditional commandment be binding after the condition became untrue? The whole facts of history show that the condition "If it be a shame to be unveiled" was not true because of any law which God had laid down, but was due to the significance of a fashion of dress, dictated by custom. It is true that Paul argues in support of the rule from independent facts drawn from Scripture and nature. But these facts support the fitness of the custom to divine and natural law and did not in themselves establish the law. If it be insisted that the passage is still binding, it must bind the same thing Paul bound—a veil, not a substitute. If it be argued that the significance should have been kept and that those who first ignored it were sinning, then it would also follow that the ones who first substituted another covering for the veil also sinned in the process, and that those who continue to do so also sin.

The principle of subjection of woman to man is unvarying. This is the real significance of the passage. Like the holy kiss, which we no longer practice despite a specific command, the veil lost the meaning society attached to it, and we are justified in keeping the purpose and intent of the law without the specific practice.

“That Which Is Perfect” — 1 Cor. 13:10

R. L. Roberts, Jr.

Views as to the meaning of the statement, “when that which is perfect is come,” can be summed up as (1) a reference to Christ at his coming, (2) the perfect state in heaven, and (3) the time when the full and complete revelation of God’s word was given and the church had developed unto a full-grown body. It is the intent of this writer to examine these views in the light of what the Bible says (1) in the context where the statement occurs and (2) in related passages.

Before examining the statement itself, let us notice that there are two definite developments pictured in the inspired history of the first century. We refer to (1) the gradual revelation of the word of God and (2) the growth and development of the church.

The New Covenant, which is variously referred to as “the perfect will of God” (Rom. 12:2), “the faith” (Gal. 1:23), “the perfect law” (James 1:25), did not come to man as a full revelation in written form as we now have it. Christianity “began without any written book at all. There was only the living word,—the gospel, but no gospels.”¹ The early church was dependent upon oral revelation by holy apostles and prophets for its knowledge of the will of God. God placed the message in inspired men, as Paul shows in his statement concerning “the treasure in earthen vessels” (2 Cor. 4:7), enabling them to speak as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance. Thus, the word of God was revealed—in part—gradually, until it was “once for all delivered unto the saints” (Jude v. 3), and written by inspiration as a full revelation of the divine word.

The church of Jesus Christ certainly did not come into existence as a full-grown body. Its growth from its birth until attaining “unto a fullgrown man” is clearly pictured in the Scriptures and is shown to have occurred not instantaneously upon its establishment, but over a period of time during which God bestowed miraculous helps or gifts upon the church for “the building up of the body of Christ.” These gifts enabled the church to have apostles, prophets, and other miraculously endowed members to perfect the saints. This gradual development of the church was simultaneous with the gradual revelation of the New Covenant, each depending upon miraculous gifts (in the later case they were for confirmation, Acts 14:2; Heb. 2:2-3; Mark 16:20). The church certainly could not have attained full growth without a full revelation of God’s will. It certainly did not attain full growth until the revelation was completed. That the church would become full-grown and that the gifts which Christ gave when he ascended would enable it to attain such a state

¹Adolf Deissman, *Light from the Ancient East* (Harper & Brothers, New York and London), 4th edition, p. 250.

of development is pointed out in Eph. 4:11-16. Commenting on this passage, Macknight says,

The apostle having represented the Christian church under the idea of Christ's body, ver. 4, he here speaks of it as in a state of childhood, whilst its members were few in number, and imperfect in knowledge; and told the Ephesians, that the supernaturally endowed teachers were to continue in the church, till it was so enlarged, and so well instructed in the doctrine of the gospel, as to be able to direct and defend itself without any supernatural aid. This advanced state of the church, the apostle termed "perfect manhood," and "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;" at which when the church arrived, the supernatural gifts of the Spirit were to be removed as no longer necessary.²

In the context of First Corinthians chapters 12 and 13 the writer contrasts the use of spiritual gifts in the church which he calls "greater gifts," with what he calls a "more excellent way" (12:31). The thirteenth chapter might well be entitled "A More Excellent Way." The text of Westcott and Hort places this statement in the first verse of the thirteenth chapter instead of the last verse of chapter 12. We might ask, "More excellent than what?" Surely, it is clear that the apostle means that the way which he is about to show in chapter 13 excels the way which he has described in chapter 12—the use of diversities of gifts bestowed by the one Spirit. Though a number of ways in which love is superior are given by Paul in chapter 13, we shall consider only the contrast with respect to the duration of each in order to get to the point.

The perpetuity of love in contrast with the evanescence of spiritual gifts or "greater" gifts is vividly given in these words:

Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall be done away (13:8).

These "greater gifts" represent the entire list of gifts given earlier (1 Cor. 12:8-11). There would be no need to repeat the long list and to contrast each with love, for, if these were to cease, the same could be said of all of them. Thus, it is evident that spiritual gifts were to cease. There should be no doubt that this is what the language shows. Nothing else is meant. Lenski's view that these gifts possibly exist today as special talents and abilities³ has no scriptural foundation. These were gifts of miraculous nature; not mere talents or abilities, however well developed we might find them today.

After showing that these gifts would cease, Paul further explains the distinction in verses 9 and 10 and states the ground for his claim—"For we know in part, and prophesy in part" (v. 9). The verse containing the reason for the ceasing of special gifts is introduced with the use of the particle *gar*, which is employed often in

²James Macknight, *Apostolical Epistles* (Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Mich., Reprint, 1949), p. 335.

³Lenski, R. C. H., *The Interpretation of St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians* (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955), pp. 562f.

Greek for this purpose. Abbott-Smith says that *gar* is a "coordinating particle, contr. of *ge ara*, *verily then, hence, in truth, indeed, yea, then, why*, and when giving a reason or explanation, *for*."⁴ Though knowledge and prophesying were supernatural gifts they at most were "in part" and for this reason would cease.

It is important that we notice that the phrase "in part" modifies "knowledge" and "prophecy" as miraculous gifts. It cannot be made to modify anything else here. Some have expressed the view that the reference here is to knowledge and prophecy as the effects of the spiritual gifts. They agree that the gifts have passed away but their effect, i.e., revealed truth, will continue until we have perfect knowledge in heaven. But, what is there in the text to show that the *effect* of the gifts and not the *gifts* themselves is meant? The apostle does not have under consideration the effects of the gifts, but the gifts themselves—the gift of knowledge and the gift of prophecy (cf. 1 Cor. 12:8-9)—as representatives of all spiritual gifts, which were "in part" and for that reason would cease.

In verse 10 the matter of *when* the gifts would cease is first introduced. It reads, literally: "But when the perfect is come, the in part shall be done away." "But" (*de*) is a "post-positive conjunctive particle"; used here as an adversative which has the force of distinguishing the following clause from the one preceding.⁵ "When" (*hotan*) is a "temporal particle, with a conditional sense usually of things expected to occur in an indefinite future."⁶ "Perfect" (*teleion*) is an adjective used substantively as is evident from the fact that it is used with the definite article and the noun which it modifies is omitted.⁷ Had Paul included the noun, there would be no doubt as to what "the perfect" means, but he merely says: *to teleion*, "the perfect" or "that which is perfect." Evidently "the perfect" was something well known to the Corinthians.

The declension of *teleion* reveals that it is in the nominative case, the singular number, and the neuter gender. The fact that it is in the neuter gender makes it clear that it could not possibly be in reference to Christ, for it would then have to be masculine in gender. The language does not allow this rendering: "when he who is perfect is come." So, the possibility that it means Christ at his coming must be excluded from consideration.

Abbott-Smith's definition of *teleion* is: "having reached its end, finished, mature, complete, perfect."⁸ Arndt-Gingrich's definition is almost *verbatim*.⁹ Thayer has: "Brought to its end, finished:

⁴G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1950).

⁵G. Abbott-Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 99.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 442.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, Chicago U. Press, 1957).

wanting nothing necessary to completeness; perfect;"¹⁰ Moulton-Milligan: "literally having reached its end; hence, full grown, mature . . . in good working order . . . complete, final."¹¹ It also might be well to point out Trench's contribution: "The various applications of *teleion* are all referable to the *telos*, which is its ground."¹² The meaning of *telos* is given as: "1. end: most freq. of the termination or limit of an act or state (in NT also of the end of a period of time, cl. *teleute*)."¹³ In accord with these facts Lenski very aptly says that "when the complete shall come" refers to the "goal in comparison with what is still on the way."¹⁴ If so, whatever "the perfect" means, it must be the goal, the completion, the perfecting of something yet unfinished, undeveloped, imperfect or "on the way." Notice that the modern idea of "faultless" connected with our word perfect does not inhere in the original word. The perfect had not come when this passage was being penned, and the "in part" had not come to an end, but the perfect must have been "on the way." When it came, Paul says that the "in part" would cease. The time at which the perfect came determined the exact time when the in part ended. This is shown by the temporal particle *hotan*, "when." The use of gifts of the Spirit was not to cease until "the perfect" came, but they would continue no longer than the coming of "the perfect."

"That which is in part (*to ek merous*) is so contrasted with "that which is perfect" and its ending or finish is so closely related to the coming of "the perfect," that it must be necessarily inferred that "the perfect" is really the completion or goal of "that which is in part." "That which is in part" reaches its end and gives way to "the perfect." Since the "partial" is the spiritual gifts, "the perfect" is naturally interpreted as the completed revelation or state of the church under the revelation which was the end of miracles.

That the church of the first century partook of this "completion" was the view of the early interpreters of the Corinthian epistles. Such was the view of Chrysostom, the earliest commentator whose works on the epistles we have intact.¹⁵ According to the author in Lange's this view that the time of "the perfect's" coming refers "to the time when, faith having spread abroad, these special gifts

¹⁰J. H. Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (N. Y., American Book Co.).

¹¹W. F. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1949).

¹²R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1880).

¹³Abbott-Smith, *op. cit.*

¹⁴Lenski, *op. cit.*, pp. 565-6.

¹⁵Compare Lange's *A Commentary of the Holy Scriptures*, The Corinthian Epistles. (N. Y., Scribner, 1869) Comment on 1 Cor. 13: 8ff. For Chrysostom's Homily see *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Philip Schaff, Ed. (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, Reprint, 1956).

will be no longer needed: hence, as belonging to the present age" has been the "practical construction put upon it by a large portion of the Protestant Church."

A good example of such interpretation is the following:

The question here arises whether on the cessation of inspiration and miracles (gifts of tongues etc.) the Church passed into the perfect state which the writer had in view: or whether, since neither the Church nor individual believers have attained the perfection indicated in (12), St. Paul anticipated the consummation of the Gospel revelation in the glorification of the Church, at the return of Christ, as the state which was to follow immediately and displace that then existing. With regard to this latter supposition see notes on 2 Thess. 1:6-8. 2:1-3. As to the former, it certainly seems from (13) that the Apostle contemplates a permanency of the existing dispensation after the cessation of gifts, in circumstances which would give occasion to the exercise of faith, and hope, and charity, and, therefore, that the perfection he speaks of in (12) is not that of believers walking "by sight," in heavenly holiness and glory.¹⁶

In verses 11 and 12 we find three illustrations that are analogous to the matter already presented. The first is a contrast between childhood and manhood; the second a contrast between our seeing darkly now and face to face *then*, evidently in heaven; the third is that of Paul's knowledge while in the flesh and then in heaven. The reference to heaven in the illustrations is merely another illustration and most certainly would not show that "the perfect" is in heaven. The language of the context would have to show that. It could not be proven by illustrations alone.

Before summing up what we have presented, let us take a closer look at what Paul said in Eph. 4:11-16. Jesus is said to have given

some to be apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ: till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a fullgrown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: that we may be no longer children, etc.

The gifts of apostleship, prophesying, evangelizing and teaching by divine inspiration, in fact, all spiritual gifts, were given for the same purposes as stated in these verses. They all belong to the period of development referred to previously in this article. Their function was for perfecting of the saints, to make possible the attaining unto the unity of the faith (*eis ten henoteta tes pisteos*, unto the unanimity of the faith, i.e., the object of faith or the word of God), unto the unanimity of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto the perfect man, etc. and they were given to be used *till* all this occurred and no longer. "Till" (*mechri*) is "a particle indicating the terminus ad quem: *as far as, unto, until*";¹⁷ and is used

¹⁶William Webster, *The Greek Testament with Notes Grammatical and Exegetical* (London, Parker and Son, 1861). *In loco*.

¹⁷Thayer, *op. cit.*

here with the force of a conjunction. One can see from this that all of the gifts of the Spirit were to last only until the church developed unto "perfect manhood" as opposed to "childhood" and that there were to be no miraculously endowed people after this event. That is why the apostles and prophets had no successors in the church and the reason that there are none today. There is no need for them today and there is no need for spiritual gifts today. If we had apostles or if their function were still necessary in the church, we would also have all the other gifts, for they existed for the same purpose. Why do not those who claim miraculous gifts today also claim that there are apostles and prophets in the church today? "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" does make such a claim. At least their claim is the most consistent!

We have endeavored to give at least enough of the facts that are presented in the context of First Corinthians to make it evident that "the perfect" refers, not to the perfect state in heaven, but to "the word" at the time when "the perfect will of God," "the perfect law," was completed so far as a revelation of it was concerned. Together with the more likely meaning of Eph. 4:11-16 these facts show that spiritual gifts have been done away.

In conclusion the reasons supporting the view that spiritual gifts have been done away are: (1) The complete revelation of the New Covenant removes the need for the existence of spiritual gifts; for the purpose of the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of First Corinthians is to show that the practice of love excels the exercise of spiritual gifts in that spiritual gifts were only temporary while love is enduring. (2) This interpretation of "the perfect" is in complete harmony with the grammatical construction of the context where it occurs. (3) The New Testament usage of the word "perfect" to describe the Word of God gives support to this view. (4) This interpretation adequately explains the meaning of the term *teleios*. (5) This view is in full agreement with the Bible as a whole. (6) It is in harmony with the absence of apostles, prophets, and all other miraculous things today.¹⁸ (7) It is in harmony with the interpretation of good commentators of all periods.¹⁹

¹⁸For treatment of the problem of the existence of miracles at the present day see Wayman Miller, *Modern Divine Healing* (Fort Worth, 1956).

¹⁹For a recent treatment of 1 Cor. 13:10 which reaches the same conclusion as this paper see J. D. Thomas, "Miracles and Church History, *Gospel Advocate*, Vol. XCIII, No. 1 (Jan. 11, 1951), p. 23. Dr. Thomas also points out the parallel between the miracle cults and the Montanists of the second century.

Does 1 Corinthians 15:23, 24 Teach a Premillennial Reign of Christ on Earth?

Frank Pack

One of the essential features of premillennialism is the theory of a first resurrection of the righteous dead separated by a period of a little more than a thousand years from the second resurrection of the wicked dead. The primary passage to substantiate this theory is Rev. 20:1-7, which mentions a "first resurrection," implying that there is the second resurrection as well as containing the only mentions of the thousand years' reign in scripture. However, about this passage has swirled through the ages a raging tide of controversy concerning its meaning. The very fact that it is located in a book of apocalyptic imagery and highly symbolical visions has weakened the position of those who try to make a case for two resurrections separated by a thousand years. Realizing this they have tried to bolster their case by appealing to other passages. The passage under consideration in this article is one that is used by premillennialists to show that Paul taught two separations separated by a long interval of time. This is "the prime affirmation of premillennialism." The idea is advanced that the expression "Christ the first-fruits . . . then they that are Christ's . . . then cometh the end" refers to three distinct resurrection, each separated by a considerable interval of time. Between the time of the resurrection of those who are Christ's and the end there can be a thousand years' reign on earth with Christ and his saints. In this article we shall investigate the basis on which this argument rests by examining the passage in its immediate and larger context and by studying other relevant passages in the New Testament.

I. The Context of the Passage

1 Cor. 15:23, 24 are a part of the well-known discussion by Paul of the resurrection of the dead. Paul in the beginning of chapter 15 reviews for his readers the gospel facts he has preached to them, and which they received in becoming Christians. However, his primary concern is to emphasize the evidence for the resurrection of Christ, for some at Corinth were evidently denying the resurrection of the dead (v. 12) and thereby implying that Christ was not raised from the dead (v. 13). It may be doubted whether any of them carried their logic through to deny the resurrection of Christ himself, but this was the logical end of their argument and Paul saw it clearly. For this reason he goes into detail in mentioning the appearances of the risen Lord to a number of persons who were still living as witnesses to the fact.

Beginning in verse 12 Paul sets forth a line of argument to show what consequences would logically follow to the Christian faith by the denial of the resurrection from the dead. By the process of *re-*

ductio ad absurdum he shows that without the resurrection from the dead Christ had not been raised, therefore, the whole Christian system is vain. "Then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain" (v. 14). The witnesses that testified to his resurrection are false witnesses and these would include Paul himself. These have falsely represented God in saying that he raised up Christ if he did not raise him from the dead. Paul shows that without the resurrection of Christ, all are yet in their sins, and those who have died ("fallen asleep") in Christ have perished eternally. All of their labor, toil, and persecutions as Christians are vain, and even their hopes are in vain, and he could conclude this section by saying "We are of all men most pitiable" (v. 19). Moffatt says, "Who is more *to be pitied* than the man who goes through time and trouble with a so-called 'Christian' hope which is detached from the faith of the apostolic gospel and which has nothing behind it except a vague illuminism with some indirect memories of one still lying in his Syrian tomb?"¹

After showing the utter emptiness and futility of the Christian faith apart from the resurrection, Paul affirms the certainty of the resurrection of Christ on the basis of his inspired testimony and character as an apostle and eye-witness of the risen Lord. Here is the decisive event, for the very fact that he is called Christ bears witness to his resurrection as the living Lord. From the fact of Christ's resurrection, Paul in brief sketches the resurrection of his followers and the assurance of their living beyond the grave because he lives. "Christ's resurrection is the pledge of more to come."²

II. Christ the Firstfruits

"But now hath Christ been raised from the dead, the firstfruits of them that are asleep" (v. 20). In the term "firstfruits" (*aparche*) Paul introduces the figure of a harvest that is to follow. Christ is "the first one to be reaped" from among those who have died. Thayer in his *Lexicon* adds this interpretative note on this passage, "Here the phrase seems also to signify that by his case the future resurrection of Christians is guaranteed; because the firstfruits forerun and are, as it were, a pledge and promise of the rest of the harvest."³ Commentators call attention to the fact that Paul probably referred to the Mosaic law in this figure of firstfruits. On the very day that Christ arose from the dead, the morrow after the Sabbath of the Passover, the Mosaic law provided that the first sheaf of ripe barley as firstfruits should be offered by the priest unto God (Lev. 23:9-11). This was a pledge of the entire harvest and an expression of gratitude to God for the harvest to be gathered. Just so, the resurrection of Christ was a pledge of the resurrection

¹Moffatt, James, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), p. 243.

²*Ibid.*, p. 245.

³Thayer, J. H., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: American Book Co., 1889), p. 54.

of "those who have fallen asleep." The very term "firstfruits" implied later fruits to complete the harvest. Paul has occasion to refer to this same figure in v. 23 in speaking of the "order" of the resurrection. Elsewhere Paul speaks of Christ as "the firstborn from the dead" (Col. 1:18). This is also used by John in Rev. 1:5 to describe Christ in his salutation to the book. While during his earthly life Christ had raised some from the dead, these were still subject to death at a later time, and for this reason could not be called "firstfruits" as could Christ himself. However, the resurrection of Christ could be described as "firstfruits" because over him death should have no more dominion. He lived never to die again.

The expression, "them that are asleep" (*kekoimemenon*), has occurred before in this chapter in different forms referring to the death of those who are Christians ("in Christ"). In v. 6 Paul speaks of the "above five hundred brethren" to whom Christ appeared as the risen Lord at one time; it states that some of them have "fallen asleep" or have died. In v. 18 he points out that without Christ's resurrection they also that are "fallen asleep in Christ" have perished. In v. 20 this same expression can only refer to believers who have died, "in Christ," for in this way is the term used in this context. Christ is not the "firstfruits" of the unbelievers, but of the believers, "them that are asleep in Christ." Moffatt comments here, "No one writing these words, whether Jew or Christian, could mean any but the righteous or the saints who *in Christ* belong to God."⁴ This enables us to see that this particular passage is concerned not with general resurrection of all men, but of those who are believers "in Christ."

III. The Meaning of "All" (*Pantes*) in Verses 21 and 22

Paul contrasts in verses 21 and 22 the effects that have followed from Adam and from Christ. Through Adam in his disobedience death came into the world. "Because of his sin Adam returned to the dust of the earth, and mortality was inherited by all his descendants."⁵ Since all men as members of the human race are connected naturally in Adam, all are subject to death by virtue of their connection with Adam.

To carry out this contrast Paul in verse 21 emphasizes that since death came by man, resurrection from the dead has come by man. In each instance man was the agent through which the changed conditions came about, in the one case death, in the other life through the resurrection of a man. It should be pointed out that in the original the nouns in this verse are without the definite article. Robert D. Culver uses this point in an article in *Bibliotheca Sacra* as an argument to show that this passage applies to all mankind in

⁴Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁵Clarence T. Carig, "First Corinthians," *The Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 10 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1953), p. 234.

general, and thus he finds ground for his particular view that this passage teaches two resurrections.⁶ However, this would not necessarily follow in this context since in verse 21 the nouns are used in an abstract sense, and the concrete application of death and resurrection comes in verse 22. Here they are spoken of as qualities and then given specific application in reference to Adam and Christ. The mere fact that the nouns are anarthrous in verse 21 is not sufficient ground for going against the whole context of the chapter and erecting an argument for its application to all mankind in general.

Is Paul to be understood as saying in this passage that all humanity shall be made alive in Christ? Some commentators hold that Paul is teaching that all men (*pantes*) die in Adam and all men (*pantes*) are made alive in Christ. On this basis some hold that Paul taught a universalism in which the whole human race at the resurrection should be raised to eternal life. Such a view must be rejected in the light of the rest of Paul's teaching in the New Testament, which obviously shows that there will be those who will be eternally lost. Premillennialists interpret this passage to teach that all mankind will have physical resurrection through Christ and this enables them to use this idea to read two resurrections into the succeeding verses. However, this overlooks the context again of the passage before us. "All" (*pantes*) is qualified in each case: all those connected with Adam and all those connected with Christ. All those in Adam are subject to death by virtue of their connection with him. In the same way all "in Christ"—that is, all who are a part of his body—shall be made alive. The close union between Christ and those "in Christ" is the guarantee of their resurrection, and herein lies the significance of the figure of Christ as "first-fruits." Clarence Craig points this out clearly by saying,

The *all* are to be qualified by *in Christ*. Those who have become part of his body through faith and baptism will inevitably share in all his experiences. As certain as their death with Christ is their resurrection with him, because believers are a part of his body, unless cut off by sin.⁷

If Paul is referring to the resurrection of all humanity in his use of the word *pantes*, he is using the expression "in Christ" in a way that is different from his usage of it through the rest of his writing. Paul uses the expression "in Christ" as Thayer points out to mean "*ingrafted as it were in Christ, in fellowship and union with Christ, with the Lord . . . it serves as a periphrasis for Christian.*"⁸ One must take this expression "in Christ" as Paul uses it elsewhere in his writings to be determinative of its meaning. In this passage Paul is not concerned with the resurrection of all human beings. He

⁶Robert D. Culver, "A Neglected Millennial Passage from St. Paul," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 113, pp. 141ff.

⁷Clarence T. Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁸Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

is writing to Christians to help them understand how the fact of Christ's resurrection is related to their own hope of eternal life. He is not discussing the fate of unbelievers here, although he does give some attention to this elsewhere. See 2 Thess. 1:7-10. Even the description of the resurrection given in the next verses is concerned with believers.

IV. "Christ the firstfruits . . . then cometh the end"

It is in this portion of the chapter that premillennialists center their argument for two resurrections separated by a thousand years' reign. They contend that there are three orders (*tagmata*) set forth in these verses: first Christ, then they that are Christ's, meaning the believers, then the third order, or the rest or remainder of the human race, the wicked, and it is to this last "order" that the term "the end" refers. It is true that the word *tagmata* does refer to "orders or divisions." The question is whether we have three or more orders, or simply two as mentioned in verse 23. The word *tagma* does refer in its primary sense to a group of persons arranged together, and hence it was used in a military sense of bodies of troops of various numbers. However, it is also used in a non-military sense of a class, group, or division. In verse 23 it is clear that two divisions are mentioned: first Christ, who has been previously described as "the firstfruits," and the next order or division, those that are Christ's. These are really the only two orders or divisions that are mentioned. Verse 24 contains no mention of any third order. This has to be read into the passage, and this fact raises a strong suspicion against its being the concept Paul had in mind.

When will the Christians be raised? The question is answered here "at his coming (*parousia*)."

The living Christ as the "firstfruits" and the dead in Christ shall be raised. They that are Christ's complete this harvest which began in Christ's resurrection, and with the wicked Paul is not concerned here. The term *parousia* is the term used in the New Testament for the coming of Christ again. It is used of his visible coming at the end of the age, "the day of the Lord," the day when the heavens shall be dissolved being on fire, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat (2 Peter 3:10-12), the time when the dead shall be raised and judged, and when he shall claim his own to be with him. It is at his coming from heaven with his angels of power in flaming fire that he will render "vengeance to them that know not God and to them that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall suffer punishment, even eternal destruction from the face of the Lord, and from the glory of his might, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be marveled at in all them that believe (because our testimony unto you was believed) in that day" (2 Thess. 1:7-10). This day is spoken of elsewhere as "the last day." See John 6:39, 40, 44, 54; 11:24. Here believers in Christ are spoken of as the

ones he will raise up "in the last day." However, Jesus in John 12:48 says, "He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my sayings, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, the same shall judge him in the last day." Here it is applied to the unbeliever and the judgment he shall receive "in the last day." In other passages this same day is called "the day of judgment." Men shall give account of every idle word in "the day of judgment" (Matt. 12:36). It will be more tolerable for some in "the day of judgment" than for others, due to the opportunities for repentance which they have had (Matt. 10:15; 11:22, 24). Peter reminds his readers that "the day of judgment" will bring the destruction of ungodly men (2 Peter 3:7). However, this same term, "the day of judgment," is used with reference to Christians in 1 John 4:17, "Herein is love made perfect with us, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment; because as he is, even so are we in this world." This brief review of the teaching of the New Testament on these terms will help us to see some very interesting connections. It is "at his coming" that the dead in Christ will be raised. But also it is "at his coming" that "the last day" occurs, when those in Christ will be raised. At the same time that he comes to be glorified in his saints, he also comes to take vengeance upon those that know not God and obey not the gospel, and to judge those that reject him. Therefore, this day is also called "the day of judgment" because both the righteous and the unrighteous will be judged.

Premillennialists make one of their important arguments in this passage on the words translated "then (*epeita . . . eita*). "Then they that are Christ's, at his coming. Then cometh the end" (italics mine for emphasis). *Epeita* has the notion of time, and is also used, according to Arndt-Gingrich, "to denote succession in enumerations—a. together with indications of chronological sequence."⁹ *Eita* is also temporal, but it can have the meaning of a transition word without the idea of time. Apparently in this passage there is some temporal order involved, yet the words *epeita . . . eita* do not indicate the length of the interval that separates them. The same two words are used earlier in the chapter (1 Cor. 15:7) in connection with the resurrection appearances of Christ, without much passage of time between them. While it is true that a long interval of time is assumed between the resurrection of Christ and that of Christians, the words *epeita . . . eita* do not indicate the length of the time. The word "then" temporally used may mean immediately after or any time after. Lenski points out that it is the phrase "at his coming" that shows how long the interval is between Christ's resurrection and that of Christians.¹⁰ To assume a long

⁹Arndt, W. F. and F. W. Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 284.

¹⁰Lenski, R. C. H., *Interpretation of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946), p. 672.

period of time between each "then" in order to insert a thousand years' reign is reading into the meaning of these two Greek words something that is not there. In fact, premillennialists must read their theory into this passage in order to give it the millennial interpretation. Robertson says,

Is there also to be an interval between His coming and the End? Or does St. Paul mean that the Coming is the End—that the two are simultaneous? It is impossible to say, for *eita*, like "then," may introduce either what is subsequent, or what is immediately consequent.¹¹

What is the meaning of the term "the end"? The meaning of "the end" is defined in this passage by the two "when" clauses which immediately follow. "The end" is constituted by these events. Moffatt describes it as "the end of what had been begun at the resurrection, namely the triumph of life over death."¹² Since the expression "then cometh the end" is without a verb in the Greek and the translators have supplied "cometh," some have treated the expression adverbially, thus making the passage read, "Then, finally, when he hands over his royal power to God the Father, after he has put down every other rule and authority and power (for reign he must, till he has put all the enemy under foot), Death is put down as the last enemy." This view is advanced by F. C. Burkitt and Karl Barth.¹³ While it is possible for the expression to be so used (cf. 1 Peter 3:8, although usually *telos* is used in this sense without the article), yet it would appear a more natural translation to make it refer to "the end." And apparently the translators so judge the matter as the KJV, ASV, and RSV as well as the mass of modern speech translations join in rendering the expression as a noun rather than adverbially.

Another view advanced by Johannes Weiss is that the term *telos* (end) can be understood to mean "the rest" of the dead, or "the others" as a third group in the orders, which entirely changes the meaning of the passage.¹⁴ Weiss' view is that Paul holds to a universalism that includes all mankind in the provisions of Christ's death for their eternal salvation. Linguistically, however, the evidence seems scanty for this meaning. Moffatt sums it up in these words, "But the evidence, from a Greek version of Isa. 19:15 and a sentence in Aristotle, for *to telos* as 'the others' is too remote and ambiguous to support this ingenious hypothesis, even if Paul could be supposed to have conceived any resurrection to life possible except for those already in Christ."¹⁵

¹¹Robertson, Archibald and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1914), p. 354.

¹²Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

¹³*Loc. cit.*

¹⁴Weiss, Johannes, *Earliest Christianity*, Vol. 2 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), p. 532.

¹⁵Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

Elsewhere the term "the end" has a very definite and proper meaning. In the beginning of this epistle (1 Cor. 1:8) Paul uses it to refer to the end of the world, "the day of our Lord Jesus Christ," at which time the Christians are to be unreprouvable. Jesus says, "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved" (Matt. 10:22; 24:13; Mark 13:13). Only after the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom to the whole world shall the end come (Matt. 24:14). These give clues as to the meaning of the expression here.

When is "the end"? It is "when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father." This will take place "when he shall have abolished all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign, till he hath put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be abolished is death" (vs. 24-26). These two temporal clauses define the consummation as being at the putting down of the last enemy, death, for Christ is to continue to reign till the last enemy is put down. One look at the closing verses of the chapter will show us when this will take place. In vs. 52-54 we learn that at the last trump the dead in Christ will be raised incorruptible and the living Christians will be changed. "But when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory." In other words, it is the resurrection of Christ's followers here that is obviously in view. When their resurrection takes place and the change of the living Christians indicating the swallowing up of mortality by immortality, then death is swallowed up in victory. When death is put down as the last enemy, then all enemies will have been put under his feet. This shows clearly that this victory over death takes place at the resurrection of the saints. It is not a thousand years afterward that the victory over death takes place, but at the resurrection of the saints. To make 1 Cor. 15:24 teach the doctrine of two resurrections separated by an interval of at least 1000 years, one must make it read, "Then cometh the end, after a thousand years, accompanied by the resurrection of the wicked."

Elsewhere the Scriptures teach that the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked are contemporaneous. "Marvel not at this; for the hour cometh, in which all that are in their tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment" (John 5:28, 29).

In Acts 24:15 the apostle Paul states that "there shall be a resurrection both of the just and the unjust." As we have seen in John's gospel, five times we have the resurrection of the righteous "at the last day" (6:39, 40, 44, 54; 11:24) and also "the last day" is the time of the judgment of the wicked according to the same book (12:48). Thus the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked as well as their judgment is "at the last day." Paul in 2 Thess.

1:7-10 describes the judgment of the wicked at the Lord's coming as well as his being glorified in the saints "in that day." In Matt. 25:31ff. Christ is described as coming in his glory and occupying the throne of judgment, where all nations shall be gathered before him and the separation of the righteous and the wicked shall take place. Both resurrection and judgment are contemporaneous for the righteous and the wicked.

V. Summary

In order for premillennialism to be found in 1 Cor. 15:23, 24, the resurrection must be interpreted of all men "in Christ" which is against the usage elsewhere in Paul's writing. The word *tagma* (order) must be given the idea of succession which it does not have. The words translated "then" must have read into them the idea of a long interval of time separating each one, in order to have room for the millennial reign. "The end" must be separated from the resurrection of Christ's own and from his coming (*parousia*) and made to refer to the resurrection of the wicked. All of these elements we have examined and shown to be untenable in the light of the passage, its context, and the rest of the teaching of the New Testament.

Subscribe to

NORTH ATLANTIC CHRISTIAN

The best in Christian journalism for the entire family

Individual Subscriptions \$2.50

Five or more \$2.00

Write today

BOX 74

WEST HARTFORD, CONN.

Baptised for the Dead

John P. Lewis

"Else what shall they do that are baptized for the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why then are they baptized for them?" (1 Cor. 15:29). Other translations render this verse in part as follows: "baptized on behalf of the dead" (RSV) (Alford), "immersed for the dead" (American Bible Union), "baptized for the sake of their dead" (David Smith), "cause themselves to be baptized for the dead" (Conybeare and Howson), "baptized with a view to the dead" (Lenski), "baptized for the resurrection of the dead" (MacKnight).

"Baptized for the dead" is a "very obscure allusion," says one commentator.¹ "The passage must be considered to admit of no satisfactory explanation," says another.² "A much vexed passage," says still another.³ "Very obscure to us; obviously well known to and understood by the Corinthians."⁴ Grosheide concludes, "We are therefore compelled to conclude our remarks at this point with a *non liquet*."⁵ All this suggests that the passage is a very difficult one, if not impossible to solve at this point of time.

The following survey of the opinions of leading commentaries will indicate how widely they differ on its meaning.

The International Critical Commentary refers to a list of thirty-six explanations listed by J. W. Horsley in *Newbery House Magazine*, June 1890, though they notice only three.⁶

1. Ordinary Christian baptism, *hyper ton nekron* being taken as meaning "with an interest in the resurrection of the dead," i.e., in expectation of the resurrection.
2. The reference to some abnormal baptismal rite known to the Corinthians, which would be meaningless without belief in the resurrection. "This might be admissible if not defined as vicarious baptism. This practice existed only among heretics later and did not exist in Paul's time, and if it had existed, would he have used such a superstitious rite as an argument?"
3. The ICC states here that Stanley gives thirteen interpretations

¹J. R. Dummelow, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1944), p. 919.

²W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. New Edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), p. 413.

³David Smith, *The Life and Letters of St. Paul* (New York: Harper & Bros.), p. 315 fn.

⁴Henry J. Foster, *Preacher's Homiletic Commentary*, 1 Cor. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls), p. 320.

⁵F. W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1955), p. 374.

⁶Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914), 2nd. Ed., p. 359.

but does not include a third one which the authors consider the best. This is that "persons, previously inclined to Christianity, sometimes ended in being baptized out of affection or respect for the dead, i.e., because some Christian relation or friend had died, earnestly desiring and praying for their conversion. Such might reasonably be designated as 'those who receive baptism on behalf of the dead'."⁷

Charles Hodges summarizes the most important interpretations of this verse under the following four headings: (1) those which turn on the meaning of *baptize*, (2) those which turn on the explanation of the preposition "for," (3) those which assume an ellipsis in the verse, and (4) those which turn on the explanation of *the dead*.⁸

David Smith⁹ says that a "mere enumeration of all the various interpretations would require a dissertation." He indicates three which "have a long and wide vogue," viz., (1) Vicarious baptism—believers submitting themselves to the sacrament in the name of their unbaptized dead, that these might rank as Christians and share in the felicity of the resurrection. (2) The view of Chrysostom which was that baptism for the dead was supposed to mean "baptism on the ground of faith in the resurrection of the dead." (3) Clinical or death-bed baptism which was administered on the approach of death to those who had postponed the observance of the sacrament for fear of mortal sin. Concerning the last explanation he adds that *huper ton nekron*, "for the dead," cannot mean "on the verge of death" and that it was not until a later period that the practice of delaying baptism arose. Smith himself prefers the explanation considered best by Robertson and Plummer: "The hope," he says, "of reunion in heaven with their beloved dead who had 'gone to their rest in Christ' had induced some, hitherto unbelieving, to profess faith and to be baptized." In this sense he thinks verse 18 is the key to the apostle's meaning.

Charles B. Williams holds that "some Christians of that time at Corinth submitted to baptism on behalf of or due to the influence of their dead loved ones."¹⁰ This wavers between the influence idea and that of vicarious baptism. If it is vicarious baptism which is meant, "Paul does not endorse substitutional baptism. He is simply arguing from the fact that they believe in it, so they must believe in a future life."

Dummelow, in his one-volume commentary, says, "There was somewhat later a practice, among certain sects, of vicarious baptism. . . This may have already existed and be meant here. St. Paul mentions 'baptism for the dead' without expressing his approval;

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 359f.

⁸Charles Hodge, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, Reprint, 1953), pp. 336f.

⁹Smith, *op. cit.*, v. 315.

¹⁰Charles B. Williams, *A Commentary on the Pauline Epistles* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1953), p. 163.

but some think the practice sprang up later from a perversion of this passage.¹¹ Dummelow thinks two other views possible: (1) that held by Chrysostom referred to above, and (2) that of Godet who regarded it as a baptism of suffering, yet holds, with Dr. Dods, that the "plain meaning of the words" points to a vicarious baptism.

From this brief survey a few suggestions stand out and should come in for special consideration. They are that it refers to the baptism of suffering, vicarious baptism, baptism from the influence of the dead, or some other aspect of ordinary gospel baptism.

Baptism of suffering. Lange's commentary¹² calls this "the most favorite interpretation of the last half century" and says that it "is that of Lightfoot and Rosemuller, adopted by Robinson in his lexicon." See Mark 10:33, 39; Luke 12:50. MacKnight¹³ also thinks this verse refers to a baptism of suffering. He contends that verse 18, which he translates "fallen asleep for Christ," means "fallen asleep for believing and testifying that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," so "baptized for the dead" may signify "baptized for believing and testifying the resurrection of the dead." He thinks Paul "adopted his Master's phraseology" and reasoned as follows: "What shall they do who are baptized for believing and testifying the resurrection of the dead, if the dead rise not at all?" His commentary column which parallels his translation of verse 29 reads as follows,

I told you in verse 22 that by Christ all shall be made alive; and verses 25, 26, that he must reign till death, the last enemy, is destroyed by the resurrection, *otherwise, what shall they do to repair their loss, who are immersed in suffering for, testifying the resurrection of the dead, if the dead rise not at all? And what inducements can they have to suffer death for believing the resurrection of the dead?*

This interpretation has the virtue of reflecting the figurative use of the word baptism used by Jesus. But it would also have the disadvantage of being alone among all the apostolic teaching in repeating this idea.

Vicarious Baptism. Many commentators claim that this is the only explanation which will answer the demands of the language. Alford, e.g., says,

the only *legitimate reference* is, to a practice, not otherwise known to us, not mentioned here by any approval by the Apostle, not generally prevalent, but in use by some, of *survivors allowing themselves to be baptized on behalf of (believing?) friends who had died without baptism . . . All we can clearly see from the text, is that it unquestionably did exist.*¹⁴

Among others he cited which held the same view were Ambrose, An-

¹¹Dummelow, *op. cit.*, p. 919.

¹²Christian Fredrick Kling (Lange's Commentary), *Critical and Doctrinal and Homiletical Commentary*, Epistles to the Corinthians, tr. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, Reprint), p. 328.

¹³James MacKnight, *Apostolical Epistles* (Nashville, Gospel Advocate Co., Reprint, 1954), p. 202.

¹⁴Henry Alford, *The New Testament for English Readers* (Chicago, Moody Press), p. 1077.

selm, Erasmus, Grotius and "recently by some of the principal modern expositors."

Conybeare and Howson say, "The only meaning which the Greek seems to admit here is a reference to the practice of submitting to baptism instead of some person who had died unbaptized."¹⁵ They recognize two "very great difficulties" with this explanation, viz.: (1) how strange that "Paul should refer to such a superstition without rebuking it!" and (2) if such a practice did exist in the apostolic age, how can its being discontinued in the period following be explained? The practice, they contend, "was never adopted except by some obscure sects of Gnostics, who seem to have founded their custom on this very passage."¹⁶

Henry J. Foster states that "there is some patristic tradition, but of uncertain value even to the fathers who report it, of a practice of baptizing a 'representative' of a man who, as yet only a catechumen, who died without baptism, lest he should for want of it be lost."¹⁷

Kling in *Lange's* states:

the simplest explanation of the act here spoken of is, the suffering of one's self to be baptized for the benefit of deceased persons, or in their stead, so as to redound to their advantage, i.e., their salvation mediated by baptism, might fall to their lot, so that those who died unbaptized, might pass for baptized, and thus have part in the resurrection and the kingdom of Christ.¹⁸

Among the most modern commentaries comment runs along this line generally. *The Interpreter's Bible* states "apparently when some 'outsiders' died without having been baptized, living persons had been baptized in their behalf."¹⁹

Moffatt thinks that "some Christians at Corinth got specially baptized on behalf of loved ones who had died."²⁰ The reason for this, he suggests, was "to fill up the number of the elect." "No Christian," he thinks, "would have dreamed of offering sacrifice for the departed, but evidently some believed so firmly in the resurrection that they underwent a vicarious baptism for *their dead* who had not been more than Catechumens when they died." "All we need to presuppose," he concludes, "is that husbands, wives, or children thus underwent baptism for the eternal good of dear ones who for some reason had not on earth been able to attain personal baptism for themselves."

The only really strong thing in favor of this interpretation is that

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 315.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Henry J. Foster, *Preacher's Homiletic Commentary*, 1 Cor. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls), p. 320.

¹⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 328.

¹⁹Clarence Tucker Craig, *The Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1953), Vol. X, p. 240.

²⁰James Moffatt, *The Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, The Moffatt Commentaries (New York: Harper & Bros., N. D.), p. 252.

the vicarious idea allows the preposition *huper* with the genitive to have one of its most common meanings and the one which some think seems to fit the context best. It ought to be admitted that this is subjective and depends upon what the commentators suppose was taking place. Its greatest weakness, as many commentators point out, is that there is a complete lack of evidence for the historicity of the supposition. It needs to be repeated also that, if it is the solution, the use of it by Paul as argument does not imply endorsement. It is still difficult to imagine Paul even to dignify the practice by basing an argument on it.

Ordinary Baptism. In addition to the opinions already expressed which see in this verse some reference to ordinary Christian baptism, either with the reference to baptism for the sake of loved ones already dead, or on some other ground, the following samples may be considered.

Adam Clarke, one of the older Methodist commentators, said,

If there be no resurrection of the dead those who, in becoming Christians, expose themselves to all manner of privations, crosses, severe sufferings, and a violent death, can have no compensations, nor any motive sufficient to induce them to expose themselves to such miseries. But as they receive baptism as an emblem of death in voluntarily going under the water, so they may receive it as an emblem of the resurrection unto eternal life, in coming up out of the water; thus, they are baptized for the dead, in perfect faith of the resurrection.²¹

Charles R. Erdman thinks

the most probable interpretation is that when unbelievers, bereaved of loved ones, turned to Christ in their loneliness, moved by a hope of a blessed reunion, their expectation would not prove to have been a fond delusion. Their baptism, due first of all to strong human affection, was a touching evidence of their faith in the future life which was inseparable from the resurrection.²²

J. W. McGarvey gives the following explanation:

The word "baptized" is an imperfect participle, and denotes an act being continually performed . . . Romans 6:3-11 makes Paul's meaning in this passage very plain. The dead are a class of whom Christ is the head and firstfruits unto resurrection. By baptism we symbolically unite ourselves with that class, and so with Christ, and we do this because of the hope that we shall be raised with that class through the power of Christ. . . If there is no resurrection, baptism, which symbolizes it, is meaningless.²³

David Lipscomb said, "The purpose, scope, and connection will

²¹Adam Clarke, *Commentary* (New York: Abington, N.D.), Vol. VI, p. 285.

²²Charles R. Erdman, *First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1928), p. 145.

²³J. W. McGarvey and P. Y. Pendleton, *The Standard Commentary*, Thess., Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans (Cincinnati: Standard Pub. Co.), pp. 152f.

admit of but one meaning—if the dead rise not, what shall they do who are baptized in the hope of the resurrection?”²⁴

The *Expositor's Greek Testament* says that there are certain conditions of interpretation bearing on the sense of the baptism for the dead “which bar out a large number of attempted explanations.” These are: (1) those baptized can only mean the *recipients of Christian baptism*, (2) “the dead” points to a *specific class of “the dead”* interested in the baptism of the living, and (3) Paul associates himself with the action of “those baptized for the dead,” as indicated by the following verse. On these conditions alone vicarious baptism seems definitely excluded. The view that ordinary Christian baptism is meant and that “for the dead” means either baptism due to the influence of beloved dead or baptism with a view to the resurrection of the individual himself who is baptized anticipating that he will ultimately be among the dead, fulfills all these requirements.

If the verse does not use the word baptize in a metaphorical sense, as overwhelmed in suffering, as MacKnight, Lightfoot, and others contend, it seems to this writer that it must refer to the baptism of the Great Commission, especially if it has any bearing on one's conduct in this age. There were four baptisms mentioned in the New Testament that existed within four years of the cross, viz.: (1) the baptism of suffering, (2) the baptism of the Holy Spirit, (3) the baptism of John the Baptist, and (4) the baptism of the Commission. Thirty years later there was one baptism (Acts 1:5; Mark 10:39; Matt. 28:19, 20; Eph. 4:5). Since the baptism of the Commission was to be administered by man until the consummation of the age (Matt. 18:19f.) (also margin ASV), all other baptisms have passed away. The *action* of the baptism of the Commission is a *burial* (Rom. 6:4; Col. 2:12), the *subject* is a *believing penitent*, and the *design* is *in order to the forgiveness of sins* (Acts 2:38; 8:37; Mark 16:15, 16). The only baptism that one can obey (Acts 10:48) is the baptism of the Commission which is a *burial* of a *believing penitent* that his *own* sins be forgiven. This excludes vicarious baptism. If vicarious baptisms were ever valid, that would make living people responsible, or accountable, for the dead. If a person who had failed to obey the baptism of the Commission were lost, the living would be responsible because they had not done for the dead that which must be done in order that his sins be forgiven. This carried to its logical consequence, would make *every living person* responsible for *every person who had died* in disobedience to the command to be baptized. Vicarious baptisms as practiced by heretics, such as the Cerentians and Marcionites, in ancient times and by the Latter Day Saints, in modern times, is the grossest form

²⁴David Lipscomb, *A Commentary on the New Testament Epistles*, Ed. J. W. Shepherd (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Co.), pp. 234f.

of superstition. Whatever the meaning of this passage, it cannot be taken as authority for such a practice.

When one is baptized by the baptism of the Commission, he experiences an act which symbolizes the resurrection. If there is no resurrection, why symbolize that which is not true?

The Corinthian Contribution

Abraham J. Malherbe

How important the contribution for the saints in Jerusalem was to Paul is clear from the space it occupies in his Corinthian correspondence and from the fact that it was central to him in his third missionary endeavor. A complete discussion of this subject is not possible in the present article.¹ The main aspect of the contribution that will concern us will be the significance that it had for Paul. It is clear from Paul's writings that he did not consider the contribution a mere practical matter, although it did involve practical concerns. The significance of the contribution will be illustrated by pointing to the historical context in which it was conceived and initiated and by investigating Paul's reasons for collecting it. The significance that it has for Paul is especially evident from the terminology that Paul uses for it, from his description of how it is to proceed from Christians, and the results that it would produce.

Origin

The origin of the contribution is probably to be seen in the account given in Gal. 2:1-10, where it is stated that James and Cephas and John gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, *koinonias*.² *Koinonias* does not here have only a practical sense of cooperation, that is, having a division in the work, but it is used in the sense of a joint enterprise.³ This agreement between Paul and the Jerusalem apostles, which was programmatic for Paul in his later work, is divided into two parts, (1) "that we go to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcision," (2) "that we remember the poor."⁴ It should be noted that this agreement is reached when Paul is concerned lest he run in vain (Gal. 2:2). The agreement,

¹Besides a thorough exegesis of 1 Cor. 16, and 2 Cor. 8, 9, other subjects that need to be studied include: (1) A thorough discussion of other sections of Paul's writings that deal with a contribution, e.g., Rom. 15, Phil. 2, 4, (2) A detailed study of Titus' place in the gathering of the Corinthian collection, (3) A placing in proper perspective of Paul's use of sacrificial imagery in connection with the contribution as it compares with his use of such imagery elsewhere.

²Cf. W. M. Franklin, *Die Kollekte des Paulus*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1938, p. 12, who, however, thinks that Gal. 2 refers to the Jerusalem visit of Acts 15. The probability is much greater that the visit of Acts 11:29f. is what Paul refers to. For the latter view, see Bill Decker, "The Early Dating of Galatians," *Restoration Quarterly* 2 (1958), pp. 132-138.

³Cf. Heinrich Seesemann, *Der Begriff Koinonia im Neuen Testament*, Goettingen, 1933, p. 86f.

⁴Both parts of the agreement are introduced by *hina*, "in order." Since there is no verb, both parts of the agreement must be thought of as being dependent upon *dexias edokan*, "they gave the right hand." The second clause is then "not a request added to the agreement, but a part of the agreement itself," E. de Witt Burton, *Galatians* (I. C.C.), Edinburgh, 1952, p. 99.

then, part of which is the remembering of the poor, is the solution to the problem of possible disunity that Paul had foreseen.⁵ There is a recognition by both Paul and the Jerusalem apostles that such an activity would create a bond of solidarity.

From the very moment, then, that Paul's mission was recognized by the Jerusalem church, he was concerned with the contribution for the poor. That his concern for the contribution was not a late interest is clear from the fact that a contribution is mentioned in his first letter (Gal. 2:10), without his having to elaborate on it. From his reference to the Galatian contribution in 1 Cor. 16:1, it can be assumed that it was given without much ado. Besides Galatia, contributions are also mentioned for the other two areas of Paul's Gentile mission, viz. Macedonia (Rom. 15:26; 1 Cor. 16:1, 2) and Achaia (1 Cor. 16:2-4).

Plan of the Collection

In the first mention of the Corinthian contribution in his letters, Paul sets forth the plan that was to be followed in its collection (1 Cor. 16:1-4). Although the Corinthians apparently already knew about the contribution,⁶ he mentions four things relative to its preparation.

(1) The contribution was to be stored up on every first day of the week. From his tone it seems that he is referring to a regular practice of meeting on the first day of the week.⁷ It had apparently not been the practice to store up collections at regular times.⁸ Paul is here instituting the practice for the sake of order. He anticipated at least a whole year during which the collection was to be taken up⁹ and expected the regularity of the weekly contribution to preclude any last-minute confusion.

(2) Everyone was to take part in the weekly storing up. Every

⁵Paul must have seen clearly that a misunderstanding and disapproval of his work by the leading apostles in Jerusalem could seriously damage its success and the unity of the church as a whole. It would be the best policy to come to an agreement with the leaders in the most conservative church. In the light of the repeated accusations made against him, it seems that Paul tried to avoid an anticipated problem. Cf. Acts 15:1-5; 21:27ff.; Gal. 2:12ff.

⁶The way in which Paul begins the discussion of this subject, "Now concerning . . .," recalls 1 Cor. 7:1; 8:1; 12:1, where he discusses subjects with which the Corinthians were familiar.

⁷Cf. Acts 20:7 for Christian worship on the first day of the week.

⁸The practice reflected in Justin Martyr, *Apology* I, 67, was not yet in use in the New Testament.

⁹Cf. W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, Cambridge, 1925, p. 294, note 26: "St. Paul is writing before Pentecost and apparently about Easter, while he hopes to come to Corinth and possibly to spend the winter there. This would allow at least a whole year for the collection, although he hopes that much of it will be finished by the time he arrives." Jean Hering, *La Seconde Epître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchatel/Paris, 1958, p. 19, thinks that in reality one and a half or two years elapsed between 1 Cor. 16 and 2 Cor. 8.

individual was to do it by himself, *par' heauto(i)*. There is no evidence that churches had treasuries as early as this or that money was collected during the worship service.¹⁰

(3) Representatives of the Corinthians would be sent by Paul to Jerusalem when he came.¹¹

(4) If, however, the amount contributed was sufficiently large, Paul himself would go, and they would accompany him.¹²

The Proposed Recipients

The gospels show that from the beginning many poor people attached themselves to Jesus and his disciples.¹³ Luke sketches a picture (Acts 4:34) of the Jerusalem church in which there is no need, probably because of its communism. Some years later, however, the church received material aid (Acts 1:29, 30) and is described by Paul as having poverty in it (Gal. 2:10; Rom. 15:26). The change in fortune was the result of a number of factors. Luke indicates that the first contribution by the Antioch church to Judaea was occasioned by a famine (Acts 11:27-30).¹⁴ The persecutions to which the church was subject must certainly also have played a part.¹⁵ Furthermore, the practice of having all their possessions in common, which was an admirable temporary solution, could not be expected to be successful indefinitely. It is very improbable that there can be any prolonged common consumption where there is no common production.

¹⁰Robertson and Plummer, *1 Corinthians* (I.C.C.), p. 387; H. Leitzmann, *An die Korinther I-II*, Tuebingen, 1931, p. 89; F. W. Grosheide, *I Corinthians* (N.I.C.), Grand Rapids, 1953, p. 398; R. C. H. Lenski, *I & II Corinthians*, Columbus 1946, p. 759f. Cf., however, Bo Reicke, *Glaube und Leben der Urgemeinde*, Zurich, 1957, p. 57f., who thinks that "fellowship," *koinonia*, in Acts 2:42 refers to the collection and distribution of the goods held in common. Seesemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-90, is more convincing with his suggestion that *koinonia* here refers to the spiritual concord of the first congregation.

¹¹Note that, although it is the Corinthian contribution, Paul is fully in charge of the arrangements.

¹²That this is the meaning of *axion e(i)*, is generally recognized, cf. Le P. E.-B. Allo, *Premiere Epitre aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1956, p. 457; Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.*; Lenski, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.* It would not be fitting for an apostle to go to Jerusalem with a paltry sum, and it would certainly not help Paul in attaining the aims he had in mind with the contribution. This statement would also be an encouragement to a congregation which was not too liberal, cf. 1 Cor. 9:11; 2 Cor. 11:8; 12:13. No Corinthian delegates are mentioned in Acts 20:7, which may mean that the contribution was sent independently.

¹³Cf. E. Lohmeyer, *Soziale Fragen im Urchristentum*, Leipzig, 1921, p. 80.

¹⁴Note that Luke frequently connects events of great importance, or well-known ones, with the history of the Empire, cf. Luke 1:5; 2:1f.; 3:1f.; Acts 12:1, 19; 18:2. This famine was thus of importance.

¹⁵Cf. Acts 8:1ff.; 9:1ff.; 12:2ff.; 2 Cor. 11:24-26; Gal. 1:13; 1 Cor. 15:9; 1 Thess. 2:14, 15; Phil. 3:6.

The indigence of the Jerusalem church, however, should not be emphasized to the point where it is assumed that their penury was unique, in comparison with the churches who sent contributions to them. From 1 Cor. 16:1 it may be assumed that all the Jerusalem Christians were in need, but Rom. 15:26 shows that only some of them were poor. On the other hand, Paul describes the very churches which he holds up as an example of liberality to the Corinthians as being in extreme poverty. Not only was Macedonia as an area poor,¹⁶ but the church there, that is, in Philippi, Beroea and Thessalonica, was subject to frequent persecutions (cf. Acts 16, 17; 1 Thess. 2:14). Paul's description of the beginning and early activity of the Thessalonian church is illuminating for the picture that he is sketching in 2 Cor. 8:1-4 to encourage liberality. In 1 Thess. 1:6f., he says that the Thessalonians received the word in much affliction, with joy, *en thlipsei polle(i) meta charas*, and that they became examples to all the believers in Macedonia and Achaia. The churches that he holds up as an example for the Corinthians in 2 Cor. 8:1-4 are described as follows, "for in a severe test of affliction, their abundance of joy, *en polle(i) dokime(i) thlipseos he perisseia tes charas auton*, and their abject poverty overflowed in liberality." The contribution, then, came from churches which were very much like the recipients in that they were persecuted and that they were poor. Very evidently, then, the contribution is not for Paul an administrative concern for the relief of poverty in Jerusalem, but is placed in a quite different context. This brings us to the next consideration, namely his reasons and purposes for the collection.

Reasons for the Collection

It is true that the contribution was ostensibly for the poor in Jerusalem (cf. Gal. 2:10; Rom. 15:17; Acts 24:17). But this was not in itself the great significance that it had for Paul. If he were primarily concerned with the material needs of the saints in Jerusalem, he would certainly not have been as leisurely in his collection of the contribution as he was. He had higher goals that he wanted to attain, and the contribution was mainly a method through which he could attain them.

For Paul it is quite reasonable that beneficiaries of spiritual blessings should reciprocate with material blessings.¹⁷ The Gentiles

¹⁶Cf. A. Plummer, *Second Corinthians* (I.C.C.), New York, 1915, p. 233, "The Romans had been very hard on these Macedonians; they had taken possession of the gold and silver mines which were rich sources of revenue, and had taxed the right of smelting copper and iron; they had also reserved to themselves the importation of salt and the felling of timber for building ships. The Macedonians said that their nation was like a lacerated and disjointed animal" (Livy, xlv.30).

¹⁷For the same principle on an individual level in Paul, see 1 Cor. 9:11; Gal. 6:6; 1 Tim. 5:17, 18. Although admittedly a moot point, the correct interpretation of 2 Cor. 8:13ff. is probably to be regarded as being similar to Rom. 15:26f.

are actually in debt to the Jews, because they share in their spiritual blessings, and they can be expected to respond with material gifts (Rom. 15:26f.). The contribution, which shows this sense of reciprocity, can be used in a case of tension to create some solidarity (Gal. 2:1-10). From the recipients' point of view, the contribution should have a conciliating effect (2 Cor. 8:19), although Paul was not sure it would be successful in this (Rom. 15:31). It would prove that Paul and his converts were not iconoclastic, but that they respected the Jerusalem church. From the contributors' point of view, the contribution was to be an expression of their spirituality, and was to be classed with faith, utterance, knowledge, and earnestness (2 Cor. 8:7) and was a proof of their love (2 Cor. 8:24). Paul thus sees in the contribution an opportunity for the expression of the noblest Christian sentiments, upon which the solidarity was to be built (cf. Gal. 5:13-15; Phil. 1:1-11).¹⁸

A few historical considerations as to the background against which the contribution was collected will further illustrate Paul's reasons and method. The essential unity of the Jews in the Dispersion is very noteworthy, considering the fact that they were so greatly separated by geography and language. Probably the most important thing that contributed to this unity was their attachment to the temple.¹⁹ From at least the first century B.C., it was the custom to tax all Jews over twenty a half shekel.²⁰ Periodically, delegates were entrusted with this tax, and in company with delegates from other cities they would journey to Jerusalem.²¹ These bearers were called the equivalent of the Greek *apostoloi*.²² The bearers went to Jerusalem *en masse*, among other reasons, for the sake of safety. The dangers of transferring money were especially great between Greece and Jerusalem, and more so in Asia. Josephus (*Ant.* XIV, 7, 2) recounts that Mithridates carried off 8,000 talents which the Jews had deposited at Cos for several years, which amount

¹⁸Although Paul's primary purpose might have been to create a bond between the Gentile and Jerusalem churches, one should not forget that Paul is concerned with the Corinthian church, which itself was in danger of fragmentation. The two chapters devoted to the subject indicate the importance, not only for relations with Jerusalem, but also for the condition of the church in Corinth. A common concern, such as the contribution, would unite them.

¹⁹Bousset-Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, Tuebingen, 1926, pp. 70ff.; E. Shuerer, *Geschichte des Juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipzig, 1901-1909, Vol. II, pp. 314ff.

²⁰Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, Muenchen, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 760ff., on Matt. 17:24ff.

²¹Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII, 9, 1; Philo, *De Mon.* 2, 3; *Leg. ad Gaium*, 40.

²²Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, III, p. 316, on Rom. 15:26. In Jewish apocryphal writings, freewill gifts were called *apostolai* (III Ezra 9:51, 54; I Macc. 2:18; 3:2). Those who bore the gifts were also called *apostoloi*.

was the temple contribution. Cicero (*Pro Flacco* 28) also describes how Flaccus in 62-61 B.C. confiscated the whole amount that had been collected in Asia for the temple. Because of the danger, the Jews chose favorite meeting places for the delegates. In Asia it was Ephesus, whence they could travel by sea to Palestine, which was a quicker and safer route than the overland journey.²³ Ephesus as a meeting place was protected under the Empire by a special imperial edict.²⁴ The Jews were at great pains in this province to do every thing in order, because of their past experience and because the transfer of funds to Palestine was not popular with the Romans.²⁵

At this time, Christians were still regarded as Jews by both Romans and Jews. To the Romans they appeared to be people who could create disorder (Acts 16:20ff.; 18:14ff.), while the Jews regarded them as the sect of the Nazarenes (Acts 24:5, cf. 14; 28:22). It would not be regarded as out of the ordinary for Christians to take up a contribution to be sent to Jerusalem. It is also instructive that Paul spent a great part of the third missionary journey in Ephesus and that it was during this period that he was making the final arrangements for the collection. This was in perfect harmony with Jewish custom. Paul also wanted to arrive in Jerusalem by Passover, like the Jewish temple delegates did. He was accompanied by delegates from small groups of worshippers which must have appeared to Jews and Gentiles alike as heretical synagogues. As far as the organization of the contribution was concerned, it was thus in harmony with the Jewish practice. Just as he made use of his Roman citizenship in his mission, so Paul here takes advantage of the Jewish heritage of Christianity.

What is more important for our discussion right here is the impression that this organization of and emphasis on the contribution must have had on the Christians in the Gentile churches. For the Jewish converts in the Dispersion, the contribution would be very similar to the temple tax and would probably have the same effect of maintaining a unity with Jerusalem. The same would also be true to some extent of the converts from among the Jewish proselytes. From their association with the synagogue they would be familiar with the practice and its effects. As for the Gentile converts, they would naturally assimilate to some extent this understanding. Coming into close contact with this tradition, they would not think it strange to have such ties with the first Christian congregation, many of whose members had seen the Lord during his life, who were witnesses to his death, and some who were actually witnesses to his resurrection. Just as the temple was the visible manifestation of the truth of the Law to the Jews, so the Christians in Jerusalem were the visible guarantee of the truth of the resurrection

²³Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 298f.

²⁴Josephus, *Ant.* XVI, 6, 4 and 7.

²⁵Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28.

(cf. Acts 13:31; 1 Cor. 15:3-11). The historical probability is thus great that for the Dispersion churches as a whole, the contribution for the saints in Jerusalem had the same effect that the contribution for the temple had for the Dispersion Jews. It is definite that such a unity is what Paul wanted to attain through the contribution.

The Significance of the Contribution Itself

There is a marked difference between 1 Cor. 16:1-4 and 2 Cor. 8, 9 in Paul's approach to the contribution. In the first letter, he is concerned with the administrative aspects. As he had directed (*dietaxa*²⁶) the churches in Galatia, so they were also to do (*poiesate*Q. Everyone was to lay aside (*titheto*). It has been observed *supra* that Paul is fully in charge of the matter in 1 Corinthians.²⁷ He has determined how the contribution was to be taken up, and he commands the Corinthians to do it. To the Corinthians this might have seemed too high-handed, especially since they challenged his authority. Thus in 2 Corinthians Paul never uses the imperative in his discussion of the collection and emphasizes that he is not speaking by way of command, *ou kat' epitagen*, but to prove their love (2 Cor. 8:8). In the contribution, they would really be glorifying God by obedience of their confession, *epi te(i) hupotage(i) tes homologias* (2 Cor. 9:13). After having been primarily concerned with administrative details, Paul turns to the significance of the contribution in 2 Corinthians.²⁸ His change of the treatment of the subject and the significance are illustrated by the different terminology that he uses in the two epistles.

Paul's word for the collection in 1 Cor. 16:1, 2 is *logeia*. The word was used primarily of religious contributions but also occurs in secular contexts. The papyrological evidence of Egypt naturally being bigger than that of the rest of the Mediterranean world, most of the occurrences refer to the Egyptian religious scene of the Hellenistic period.²⁹ More recent evidence from Asia Minor from the first century A.D. has indicated, however, that the picture reflected is the same.³⁰ The word *logeia* was originally used of a freewill contribution to a temple or for some religious purpose. It gradually

²⁶Although *diatassein* can mean merely "to arrange," it carries with it preeminently the sense of authoritative disposition. Cf. Arndt and Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon to the New Testament*, s.v., for references. The sense behind the word is especially evident in the cognates, *diatage*, *diatagma*, *diataxis*. In 1 Cor. 16:1f., the imperative becomes explicit in the accompanying imperatives *poiesate*, *titheto*.

²⁷Cf. note 11.

²⁸Nevertheless, Paul, a very practical man, continued in a practical manner to arrange for the collection. It is in this respect that the *liaison* activity of Titus needs to be studied.

²⁹Cf. Walter Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten*, II vols., Leipzig, 1905, *passim*.

³⁰Adolf Deissmann, *Light From the Ancient East*, New York, 1909, pp. 103-106.

came to have the sense of an obligatory levy, however.³¹ A good example, contemporaneous with 1 Cor., is afforded by POxy II.239 (A.D. 66), "I swear that I have levied no contributions (*logeian*) whatever in the above village."³² Regardless of how Paul meant the word to be understood, it would be natural for the unfriendly recipients of his letter to associate the negative meaning with it. When relations with them became strained, Paul used other words to describe the true significance.³³

The same may also be true of Paul's use of *thesaurizein*, "to store up." The cognate *thesauros*, referring either to the treasury itself, or to the contribution placed in the treasury, is more frequently found in contemporary sources.³⁴ It was used of temple deposits,³⁵ and it is possible that Paul's use of it might have been understood as being analogous to this. The Tebtunis Papyrus I 6²⁷ (140-139 B.C.) is interesting for the use of *thesauros*. In reply to complaints by some priests that they had been defrauded, the local government officials are informed "to see that the revenues of the priests are not disturbed. No one but the appointed agents of the priests is to collect any of the saved revenues, and force is to be applied to those who fail to pay the proper dues."³⁶ We can not, of course, make too close a connection between the situation reflected in this particular papyrus and Paul's letter, but it is probable that the same general situation existed as far as the disrespect of the temple collection, and the application of force in its contribution was concerned. No levied tax is ever popular, and the word used for it would naturally come to have unpleasant nuances. In using the word in the manner that he did, and in the context that he did, Paul might conceivably have added to the negative response that he received from the Corinthians.

Leaving the mechanics of the contribution, Paul turns to what should be the proper Christian motivation, and he illustrates this with a very significant use of terminology. *Charis*, "grace" is the keyword with which he opens the whole discussion, and to which he

³¹Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

³²Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament*, p. 377.

³³Thus Seesemann, *op. cit.*, p. 28, note 2; Windisch, *Die zweite Korintherbrief*, Goettingen, 1924, p. 274; Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, on II Kor. 8:6. The question is asked why Paul does not use *logeia* in Rom. 15:26, if it indeed was his original word for the contribution. Seeseman thinks that perhaps the reason was because Paul was actually in Corinth when he wrote Romans, and that he omitted it out of deference to his hosts' feelings. It is more probable, however, that *koinonia*, which is used in Rom. 15:26, expresses exactly what he wanted to say.

³⁴*Thesaurizein*, for instance, does not appear at all in the indices of Otto, whereas the references to *thesauros* are numerous.

³⁵Cf. R. Eisler, *Iesus Basileus* (1930), vol. II, p. 491.

³⁶Cf. Grenfell, Hunt, Goodspeed and Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri* (1902-1933), vol. I, pp. 58ff.

returns time and again. Almost the complete unfolding of the concept in Christianity is to be seen in 2 Cor. 8. *Charis* is (1) the divine favor, and its objective proof for all men, v. 9; (2) it is the personal possession by Christian individuals of gracious power, 8:1; 9:8, 14; (3) it is a Christian work of love, the working out of the received grace in one's relationship with the brethren, 8:4, 6, 7, 19.³⁷ Paul's use of *charis* in our context is illuminated by the use of the word in Acts and in Paul's other letters. In Acts³⁸ a new use of *charis* appears, and does so in contexts which deal with the extension of the gospel to the Gentiles.³⁹ Although this introduction of *charis* into Christianity was not due to Paul,⁴⁰ it cannot be doubted that this special use was connected with his missionary efforts. He uses it frequently with regard to himself as the proclaimer of the universal gospel,⁴¹ and with regard to the Gentile recipients of his gospel.⁴² "A review of these passages makes it imposisble to doubt that St. Paul's use of *charis* is dominated by the thought of the admission of the Gentiles to the privileges which had been peculiar to Israel."⁴³ Paul's approach in 2 Cor. 8, 9 is thus essentially the same as that expressed in Rom. 15:26ff. Instead of openly asking the Corinthians to reciprocate materially, Paul appeals to their spirituality. Since they have received the grace of God, they should in turn be gracious.

A corollary to *charis* is *koinonia*, "fellowship" (2 Cor. 8:4),⁴⁴ and it is to this ideal that Paul exhorts the Corinthians (2 Cor. 9:13). *Koinonia* is not just a practical term for Paul, but has a high religious content.⁴⁵ The appearance with *charis* in 2 Cor. 8:4 precludes the possibility that Paul intends *koinonia* to have the meaning of "gift" here. "*Koinonia* must have had for him the deepest, most inward religious sense."⁴⁶ The best translation would be "deepest participation." More difficult to decide is the exact meaning

³⁷Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

³⁸Cf. Acts 13:43; 14:3, 26; 15:11, 40; 18:27; 20:24, 32.

³⁹Cf. J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, London, 1907, p. 244ff.

⁴⁰B. Rigaux, *Les Epitres aux Thessaloniens*, Paris, 1956, p. 352, however, says that *charis* in the New Testament is a Pauline term.

⁴¹Cf. 1 Cor. 3:10; Gal. 1:15f.; 2:21; Rom. 1:5.

⁴²Cf. 1 Cor. 1:4 (cf. v. 9); 6:1; Eph. 2:5-9; Col. 1:6.

⁴³Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁴⁴The RSV translation, "begging us earnestly for the favour of taking part . . ." for *meta polles parakleseos deomenoi hemon ten charin kai ten koinoniam . . .* unfortunately loses the richness of the statement.

⁴⁵This appears clearly from the terms with which *koinonia* appears, cf. 1 Cor. 1:9; 10:16; 2 Cor. 8:4; 13:13; Phil. 1:5; 2:1; Phile. 6. Seesemann, *op. cit.*, p. 99, perhaps pushes too far in this direction when he says that Paul never uses the term with a profane meaning, and then explains 2 Cor. 6:14 as being of non-Pauline origin.

⁴⁶Seesemann, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

that *koinonia* has in 2 Cor. 9:13,⁴⁷ that is, whether it means (1) the gift itself, i.e., the concrete proof of their communion, as in Rom. 15:26,⁴⁸ or (2) the solidarity between the two parties. Because of the last words in the verse, *kai eis pantas*, "and to all," the second possibility is the more likely. He is not exhorting them to make only a contribution to Jerusalem, but he wants a solidarity between the Corinthians and the whole church which can come only if there is the correct spiritual basis. When there is this deep sense of communion, then this particular contribution will be forthcoming.

Finally, the liturgical language that Paul uses of contributions points to a deeper understanding. He encourages the Corinthians to complete, *epiteleîn*, what they had begun (2 Cor. 8:6, 11). *Epiteleîn* was used especially of the fulfillment of religious rites (cf. Phil. 1:6; Heb. 9:6).⁴⁹ Paul is thus drawing a picture of an offering in the sacral sense of the word. This is brought out still further by his use of *leitourgia*, "priestly service" in 2 Cor. 9:12. This liturgical language for a contribution is found in other passages in Paul, especially in those which deal with contributions toward his support. Paul describes himself as a *leitourgos*, "priest" to the Gentiles in the gospel's priestly service, *hierergounta* (Rom. 15:16). Epaphroditus, who brought him support from Philippi, is also a *leitourgos* to his need (Phil. 2:25), and the contribution proved to be a fragrant offering, *osme euodias*, and an acceptable sacrifice, *thusia dekte* (Phil. 4:18).⁵⁰ The liturgical language in Rom. 15 culminates in verses 27 and 28, where Paul is encouraging a Gentile

⁴⁷The rendering of the RSV, "by the generosity of your contribution" for *haploteti tes koinonias* is especially unfortunate, since it both obliterates the insight that *haplotes* gives to the contribution (see *infra*), and decides not too wisely on "contribution" as a translation for *koinonia*.

⁴⁸Cf. with Rom. 15:26, *koinonian tina poiesasthai eis tous ptochous*; Phil. 4:16, *ekoinonesen eis logon doseos kai lempseos* . . .

⁴⁹Sanday and Headlam, *Romans* (I.C.C.), Edinburgh, 1908, p. 413, on *epitelesas* in Rom. 15:28, ". . . coupled with *leitourgesai* above, (it) suggests that St. Paul looks upon these contributions of the Gentile communities as a solemn religious offering and part of their *eucharistia* for the benefits received."

⁵⁰Strathmann, *Theol. Woerterbuch*, p. 236f., minimizes the "sacral-cultic" element in Paul's use of *leitourgos*. He thinks that the use of this stem should be looked upon as if it represents the original etymology; Paul and Epaphroditus are working on behalf of the people. This is certainly possible, as the inscriptions and Dio Chrys. 38, 41, 7, for instance, indicate. When he insists, however (p. 234), that the liturgical element is absent from Phil. 2:30, he is definitely wrong. The occurrence of *thusia*, *leitourgia* and *spendomai* in v. 17, and *leitourgos* in v. 25 could hardly leave a doubt that Paul is using sacrificial language.

For Paul's mission, cf. also 2 Cor. 2:14-17. A detailed study of Rom. 15:14-33, with special reference to the sacrificial and liturgical elements in Paul's language, as it refers to his ministry and to the contribution, will make clear the intimate connection that there existed between them for him.

contribution for Jerusalem. Here *leitourgesai* is the counterpart to *koinonein*, and the former is to be *epiteleisthai*. Against this sacrificial-liturgical background then, in which Paul sees himself as being poured out as a sacrifice in the Gentile ministry (Phil. 2:17), a ministry in which he acts as priest, and for which offerings are made, he encourages the Corinthians to render a similar spiritual service. It is no more practical matter, but divine service which ends in the glorification of God (2 Cor. 9:12f.).

How It Was To Proceed

It has been pointed out that Paul emphasizes that he is not commanding them to give (2 Cor. 8:8), but that the contribution will really be a test of their obedience to their confession (2 Cor. 9:13). Rather, having given themselves first to Christ, by God's will they will follow Paul's suggestions (2 Cor. 8:5). The Macedonians had given themselves to Christ and then overflowed with joy, *he peristeia tes charas . . . eperisseusen* (2 Cor. 8:2). The cognate verb, *perisseuein*, "to overflow, to abound in," occurs in our context with words which indicate that Paul had a higher meaning in mind than only liberality. As they abound in *pistei*, *logo(i)*, *gnosei*, *spoude(i)*, *agape(i)*, they were also to abound in this *chariti* (2 Cor. 8:7). They are encouraged to give freely, for God would overflow with graciousness toward them, *pasan charin perisseusai eis humas* (2 Cor. 9:8). Such a gift would overflow in many thanksgivings to God, *perisseuousa dia pollon euchariston to(i) theo(i)* (2 Cor. 9:12). The connotation in our context is not so much abundance as the primary aspect, but abundant giving as the result of a spontaneous welling up of joy and a sense of God's grace.⁵¹

A very similar approach is found in Paul's use of the term *haplotes* in connection with the contribution.⁵² The word has the basic meaning of simplicity in the sense of singleness in attitude, and from this are derived the meanings "sincerity, frankness, generosity, liberality." In 2 Cor. 8:2, Paul says that the joy of the Macedonians had overflowed in a wealth of sincere good-will.⁵³ Edlund,⁵⁴ in discussing 2 Cor. 9:11,13, where *haplotes* occurs (trans-

⁵¹The vexed question whether *perisseuma* is to be taken literally in 2 Cor. 8:14, again raises its head. The consistent use of it in these chapters in the sense of a spiritual overflowing suggests that the true meaning of this verse is to be looked for in this direction.

⁵²Conny Edlund, *Das Auge der Einfalt*, Uppsala, 1952, p. 83, suggests that *aphelotes kardias* in Acts 2:46 has the same meaning as *haplotes*. In his discussion of this passage, Bo Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier*, Uppsala, 1951, p. 167f., emphasizes the proper disposition of the hearts of the Christians in their joyful fellowship. In this parallel passage, then, the picture is sketched of a real Christian communion, which is the result of joyful good-will.

⁵³Again, the RSV translation is unfortunate. Paul is describing the Macedonians as having a deep concern which is expressed in liberality, Windisch, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.*, Edlund, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁵⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 91ff.

lated as "generosity" in the RSV), notes that Paul is here dealing with the motives for giving, and that he sharpens the Old Testament thinking on the subject. He had pointed out⁵⁵ that the Septuagint uses *en haploteti kardias* for the manner of giving in 1 Chron. 29:17. He now quotes Pedersen⁵⁶ for the sense that the contribution had among the Jews, "We know the basis of the value and power of the gift. It is not something material, but part of the psychic entirety of the man. Gifts are therefore always spiritual gifts. Like good words and good deeds they carry something from the soul of the one into the heart of the other; they not only bring tidings of good will, they bring good will itself, because they belong to the intensity of the soul. The gift is not an expression of sentiment; it is a necessary result of a real relation between men, and itself creates or strengthens a relation of this kind."⁵⁷ Pedersen may be overstressing this aspect of solidarity, of which he is so fond, but his description happens to fit Paul's description of 2 Cor. 9:11-13 extremely well.

In a more direct manner, Paul makes clear that there must be a readiness to give (2 Cor. 8:11,12), that they should sow bountifully (2 Cor. 9:6), and that they should give without reluctance or compulsion, everyone giving as he had chosen (2 Cor. 9:7). Joy and preparedness are to characterize their giving, for God loves a cheerful giver (2 Cor. 9:7).

The Results of the Contribution

The results that will be forthcoming are not practical results, but show the spiritual quality of the contribution. The givers will increase the harvest of their righteousness (2 Cor. 9:10). They will actually be doing it for the glory of God (2 Cor. 9:13), and the glory of the Lord (2 Cor. 8:19) and the gifts will result in thanksgivings to God (2 Cor. 9:11,12).⁵⁸ Just as the progression in 2 Cor. 9:11-13 is grace-thanksgiving-glory, so also it is where Paul speaks of his ministry (2 Cor. 4:15). Therefore, what he said of the con-

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 54f.

⁵⁶J. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture I-II*, London, 1926, p. 296.

⁵⁷R. H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, London, 1908, p. 105, goes out from Test. Iss. I, 3, 8, where *en haploteti kardias* occurs, and translates 2 Cor. 8:2; 9:11,13 as "liberality." For the development of the usage in the inter-testamental period, and especially in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, see Edlund, *op. cit.*, p. 62ff.

⁵⁸The concept of *doxa theou*, "glory of God," should receive closer attention than can be devoted to it here. *Doxa* is used in a concrete sense outside of Judaism and Christianity, cf. Gillis Wetter, *Charis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ältesten Christentums*, Leipzig, 1913, esp. pp. 130-132, 152f. G. H. Boobyer, "Thanksgiving" and "The Glory of God" in Paul, Diss. Heidelberg, 1929, p. 12ff., points out that the concrete sense is also found in Paul, e.g., 2 Cor. 3:7,18; cf. 1 Cor. 15:41, and suggests that we should keep this in mind when we study 2 Cor. 8,9.

tribution which enabled him in his ministry to attain the great end, he could also very well have said of this contribution: It is "not that I seek the gift; but I seek the fruit which increases to your credit" (Phil. 4:17). Only a true spiritual gift will bring about such spiritual blessings, and the gift therefore becomes not a proof of their obedience to an administrative aspect of Christianity, but a proof of their love (2 Cor. 8:8), and a proof of their glorifying God (2 Cor. 9:13).

RESTORATION QUARTERLY

INDEX—VOLUME 3, 1959

Compiled by Callie Fay Milliken

The Acts of the Apostles, Tyndale Commentary Series. E. M. Blaiklock. Reviewed by Pat Harrell. 91.

Adults at Worship. Wallace Fridy. Reviewed by Pat Harrell. 95.

Anabaptist doctrine of the Church. Pat E. Harrell. 4.

AUGUSTINE, SAINT. The function of theology. Don H. McGaughey. 108.

Baptized for the dead. John P. Lewis. 214.

BARTH, KARL. The function of theology. Don H. McGaughey. 108.

Between the Testaments. Charles F. Pfeiffer. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 93.

BIBLE. N. T. CORINTHIANS

Baptized for the dead. 1 Cor. 15:29. John P. Lewis. 214.

The Corinthian Contribution. 2 Cor. 8-9. Abraham J. Malherbe. 221.

Does 1 Corinthians teach a premillennial reign of Christ on earth?

1 Cor. 15:23, 24. Frank Pack. 205.

Notes on selected passages in 1 Corinthians. Neil R. Lightfoot. 173.

Paul and Corinth—his visits and letters. Roy Bowen Ward. 158.

That which is perfect. 1 Cor. 13:10. R. L. Roberts, Jr. 199.

Veils in 1 Cor. 11:2-16. J. W. Roberts. 183.

BIBLE. N. T. JOHN

The Case for John 7:53-8:11. Roy Bowen Ward. 130.

Textual authority for John 7:54-8:11. Earle McMillan. 18.

Blaiklock, E. M. *The Acts of the Apostles, Tyndale Commentary Series.* Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 91.

BOOK REVIEWS

Blaiklock: *The Acts of the Apostles, Tyndale Commentary Series.* (Pat E. Harrell) 91.

Bowie: *I Believe in Jesus.* (Pat E. Harrell) 95.

Bromiley: *Sacramental Teaching and Practice in the Reformation Churches.* (Pat E. Harrell) 93.

Bruce: *The Defence of the Gospel in the New Testament.* (Pat E. Harrell) 94.

Ellison: *From Tragedy to Triumph.* (Pat E. Harrell) 96.

Ferm: *Pictorial History of Protestantism.* (Pat E. Harrell) 42.

Ferm: *The Psychology of Christian Conversion.* (Pat E. Harrell) 92.

Fridy: *Adults at Worship.* (Pat E. Harrell) 95.

Hendry: *The Gospel of the Incarnation.* (LeMoine G. Lewis) 46.

Henry: *Contemporary Evangelical Thought.* (Keith T. Thompson) 45.

Hershberger: *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision.* (Pat E. Harrell) 94.

- Kretzmann: *The Sign of the Cross*. (Pat E. Harrell) 95.
 Manley: *The New Bible Handbook*. (John Dee Campbell) 43.
 Martin: *The Seven Letters*. (Hugh W. Zenor, Jr.) 45.
 Parker: *Calvin's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God*. (Pat E. Harrell) 93.
 Pfeiffer: *Between the Testaments*. (Pat E. Harrell) 93.
 Renwick: *The Story of the Church*. (Pat E. Harrell) 91.
 Roberson: *Studies in the Revelation*. (Roy Bowen Ward) 44.
 Russell: *The Teachers' New Testament With Notes and Helps*. (Pat E. Harrell) 95.
 Small: *Design for Christian Marriage*. (Pat E. Harrell) 92.
 Smith: *Minister's Library Handbook*. (Pat E. Harrell) 96.
 Stibbs: *The First Epistle General of Peter, Tyndale Commentary Series*. (Pat E. Harrell) 91.
 Wuest: *Philippians Through the Revelation, Expanded Translation of the Greek New Testament, Volume III*. (Hester J. Gruber) 144.
 Yates: *Preaching From Great Bible Chapters*. (Keith T. Thompson) 45.
- Bowie, Walter Russell. *I Believe in Jesus Christ*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 95.
- Bromiley, C. W. *Sacramental Teaching and Practice in the Reformation Churches*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 93.
- Bruce, F. F. *The Defence of the Gospel in the New Testament*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 94.
- CALVIN, JOHN. The function of theology. Don H. McGaughey. 108.
Calvin's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God. T. H. L. Parker. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 93.
- Campbell, John Dee. Review of Manley: *The New Bible Handbook*. 43.
- The case for John 7:53-8:11. Roy Bowen Ward. 130.
- Catholic Church and civil government. Fausto Salvoni. 38.
- CHRISTIAN GIVING
 The Corinthian contribution. Abraham J. Malherbe. 221.
 Church at Corinth outside the New Testament. Everett Ferguson. 169.
- CHURCH AND STATE. The Catholic Church and civil government. Fausto Salvoni. 38.
- CHURCH HISTORY. The Church at Corinth outside the New Testament. Everett Ferguson. 169.
Contemporary Evangelical Thought. Carl F. H. Henry, Ed. Reviewed by Keith T. Thompson. 45.
 Corinth—the city. J. D. Thomas. 147.
- CORINTH. GREECE
 The church at Corinth outside the New Testament. Everett Ferguson. 169.
 Paul and Corinth—his visits and letters. Roy Bowen Ward. 158.
 Corinthian contribution. Abraham J. Malherbe. 221.
 Daily life as evidenced in the papyri. J. D. Thomas. 72.
The Defence of the Gospel in the New Testament. F. F. Bruce. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 94.

- DEPRAVITY. The doctrine of the fall and original sin in the second century. Harold O. Forshey. 119.
- Design for Christian Marriage.* Dwight Hervey Small. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 92.
- The doctrine of the fall and original sin in the second century. Harold O. Forshey. 119.
- Does 1 Corinthians 15:23, 24 teach a premillennial reign of Christ on earth? Frank Pack. 205.
- EGYPT. SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS. Daily life as evidenced by the papyri. J. D. Thomas. 72.
- EASTON, BURTON SCOTT. Reflections on reading Easton's commentary on the Epistle of James in the *Interpreter's Bible*. J. W. Roberts. 140.
- Ellison, H. L. *From Tragedy to Triumph*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 96.
- ETHICS. Science and ethics. Earle H. West. 14.
- Exegetical helps—the genitive of apposition. J. W. Roberts. 36.
- FALL OF MAN. The doctrine of the fall and original sin in the second century. Harold O. Forshey. 119.
- Ferguson, Everett. The Church at Corinth outside the New Testament. 169.
- Ferm, Robert O. *The Psychology of Christian Conversion*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 92.
- Ferm, Virgilius. *Pictorial History of Protestantism*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 42.
- The First Epistle General of Peter, Tyndale Commentary Series.* Alan M. Stibbs. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 91.
- Forshey, Harold O. The doctrine of the fall and original sin in the second century. 119.
- Fridy, Wallace. *Adults at Worship*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 95.
- From Tragedy to Triumph.* H. L. Ellison. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 96.
- The function of theology. Don H. McGaughey. 108.
- GARRETT, LEROY. "Gone to the Christian Church." Excerpt from the *Restoration Review*. Comments by J. W. Roberts. 79.
- Gnosis and primitive Christianity: a survey (1). Abraham J. Malherbe. 99.
- The gnostic documents from Chenoboskion. 88.
- GNOSTICISM. Gnosis and primitive Christianity: a survey (1). Abraham J. Malherbe. 99.
- "Gone to the Christian Church." Excerpt from *Restoration Review* with comments by J. W. Roberts. 79.
- The Gospel according to Thomas. 90.

The Gospel of the Incarnation. George S. Hendry. Reviewed by LeMoine G. Lewis. 46.

GREEK LANGUAGE. HELLENISTIC N. T. WORD STUDIES.

Exegetical helps—the genitive of apposition. J. W. Roberts. 36.

Notes on selected passages in 1 Corinthians. Neil R. Lightfoot. 173.

Gruber, Hester J. Review of Wuest: *Philippians Through the Revelation, Expanded Translation of the Greek New Testament, volume III.* 144.

GRUBER, HESTER J. Personalia. 98.

Harrell, Pat E.

The Anabaptist doctrine of the Church. 4.

Book reviews. 42, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96.

The Hebrew Sabbath. Olan Hicks. 23.

Hendry, George S. *The Gospel of the Incarnation.* Reviewed by LeMoine G. Lewis. 46.

Henry, Carl F. H., ed. *Contemporary Evangelical Thought.* Reviewed by Keith T. Thompson. 45.

Hershberger, Guy F., ed. *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision.* Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 94.

Hicks, Olan L.

The Hebrew Sabbath. 23.

The sinlessness of Jesus. 51.

Humphrey, Alex, Jr. A further list of theses written by members of the Church of Christ. 84.

I Believe in Jesus Christ. Walter Russell Bowie. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 95.

INTERPRETER'S BIBLE. Reflections on reading Easton's Commentary on the Epistle of James in the Interpreter's Bible. J. W. Roberts. 140.

JESUS CHRIST. NATIVITY. The virgin birth of Christ. John McRay. 61.

JESUS CHRIST. PERSON AND WORK. The sinlessness of Jesus. Olan L. Hicks. 51.

Kretzmann, O. P. *The Sign of the Cross.* Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 95.

Lewis, John P. Baptized for the dead. 214.

Lewis, LeMoine G. Review of Hendry: *The Gospel of the Incarnation.* 46.

Lightfoot, Neil R. Notes on selected passages in 1 Corinthians. 173.

McGARVEY AWARD

The J. W. McGarvey award. 3.

The McGarvey award repeated. 50.

McGaughey, Don H. The function of theology. 108.

McMillan, Earle. Textual Authority for John 7:53-8:11. 18.

McRay, John. The virgin birth of Christ. 61.

- McRAY, JOHN. *Personalia*. 50.
- Malherbe, Abraham J.
The Corinthian contribution. 221.
Gnosis and primitive Christianity: a survey (1). 99.
- MALHERBE, ABRAHAM J. Secretary of *Restoration Quarterly* honored with a scholarship by Abilene Christian. 98.
- Manley, G. T. *The New Bible Handbook*. Reviewed by John Dee Campbell. 43.
- Martin, Hugh. *The Seven Letters*. Reviewed by C. W. Zenor, Jr. 45.
- Milliken, Callie Faye. *Restoration Quarterly index*, vol. 3, 1959. 234.
- Minister's Library Handbook*. Jay J. Smith. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 96.
- The New Bible Handbook*. G. T. Manley. Reviewed by John Dee Campbell. 43.
- New Testament textual finds. 88.
- Notes on recent happenings and contributions. 88.
- Notes on selected passages in 1 Corinthians. Neil R. Lightfoot. 173.
- Original Sin. See DEPRAVITY.
- Pack, Frank. Does 1 Corinthians 15:23, 24 teach a premillennial reign of Christ on earth? 205.
- Parker, T. H. L. *Calvin's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 93.
- Paul and Corinth—his visits and letters. Roy Bowen Ward. 158.
- Pfeiffer, Charles F. *Between the Testaments*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 93.
- Philippians Through the Revelation, Expanded Translation of the Greek New Testament, volume III*. Kenneth S. Wuest. Reviewed by Hester J. Gruber. 144.
- Pictorial History of Protestantism*. Virgilius Ferm. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 42.
- Preaching From Great Bible Chapters*. Kyle M. Yates. Reviewed by Keith T. Thompson. 45.
- PREMILLENNIALISM. Does 1 Cor. 15:23, 24 teach a premillennial reign of Christ on earth? Frank Pack. 205.
- The Psychology of Christian Conversion*. Robert O. Ferm. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 92.
- The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision*. Guy F. Hershberger, ed. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 94.
- Reflections on reading Easton's Commentary on the Epistle of James in the *Interpreter's Bible*. J. W. Roberts. 140.
- Renwick, A. M. *The Story of the Church*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 91.
- RESTORATION REVIEW. "Gone to the Christian Church." Excerpt from *Restoration Review*. Leroy Garrett. Comments by J. W. Roberts. 79.

Roberson, Charles Heber. *Studies in the Revelation*. Reviewed by Roy Bowen Ward. 44.

Roberts, J. W.

Exegetical helps—the genitive of apposition. 36.

“Gone to the Christian Church.” Excerpt from *Restoration Review* by Leroy Garrett. Comment by J. W. Roberts. 79.

Reflections on reading Easton’s Commentary on the Epistle of James in the *Interpreter’s Bible*. 140.

Veils in 1 Cor. 11:2-16. 183.

Roberts, R. L., Jr. That which is perfect. 1 Cor. 13:10. 199.

Russell, John William, ed. *Teachers’ New Testament with Notes and Helps*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 95.

SABBATH. The Hebrew Sabbath. Olan Hicks. 23.

Sacramental Teaching and Practice in the Reformation Churches. C. M. Bromiley. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 93.

Salvoni, Fausto. The Catholic church and civil government. 38.

SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH. The function of theology. Don H. McGaughey. 108.

Science and ethics. Earle H. West. 14.

The Seven Letters. Hugh Martin. Reviewed by C. W. Zenor, Jr. 45.

The Sign of the Cross. O. P. Kretzmann. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 95.

The sinlessness of Jesus. Olan L. Hicks. 51.

Small, Dwight Hervey. *Design for Christian Marriage*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 92.

Smith, Jay J. *Minister’s Library Handbook*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 96.

Stibbs, Alan M. *The First Epistle General of Peter, Tyndale Commentary Series*. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 91.

The Story of the Church. A. M. Renwick. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 91.

Studies in the Revelation. Charles Heber Roberson. Reviewed by Roy Bowen Ward. 44.

Teachers’ New Testament with Notes and Helps. John William Russell, ed. Reviewed by Pat E. Harrell. 95.

Textual authority for John 7:53-8:11. Earle McMillan. 18.

“That which is perfect.” 1 Cor. 13:10. R. L. Roberts, Jr. 199.

THEOLOGY. The function of theology. Don H. McGaughey. 108.

THOMAS AQUINAS. The function of theology. Don H. McGaughey. 108.

THESES AND DISSERTATIONS. BIBLIOGRAPHY. A further list of theses written by members of the Church of Christ. Compiled by Alex Humphrey, Jr. 84.

Thomas, J. D.

Corinth, the city. 147.

Daily life as evidenced in the papyri. 72.

Thompson, Keith T.

Review of Henry: *Contemporary Evangelical Thought*. 45.

Review of Yates: *Preaching From Great Bible Chapters*. 45.

Veils in 1 Cor. 11:2-16. J. W. Roberts. 183.

The virgin birth of Christ. John McRay. 61.

Ward, Roy Bowen.

The case for John 7:53-8:11. 130.

Paul and Corinth—his visits and letters. 158.

Review of Roberson: *Studies in the Revelation*. 44.

West, Earle E. Science and ethics. 14.

Wuest, Kenneth S. *Philippians Through the Revelation, Expanded Translation of the Greek New Testament, volume III*. Reviewed by Hester J. Gruber. 144.

Yates, Kyle M. *Preaching From Great Bible Chapters*. Reviewed by Keith T. Thompson. 45.

Zenor, C. W., Jr. Review of Martin: *The Seven Letters*. 45.